

FISHING RIGHTS

The nearest approach to true communal rights lay in fishing grounds. 423
 The rights to fishing, whether close to shore or further out, belonged to 226
 those living on the adjacent coast. Most chiefs had land fronting on the 622
 water where their fishing operations were conducted. Every "commoner" 565
 who lived on a tract bordered by water could fish along his waterfront.
 The inland man without a waterfront on which to fish usually had "*tofia*" 438
 brothers" (men under the same chief) living on the shore who supplied fish
 in return for yams, fruit, taro, and other inland products.

Sometimes an inland man poached at his own risk on another's water- 423
 front. If apprehended, his traps might be destroyed and his fish con- 226
 fiscated. Sometimes, if fish were hard for inlanders to obtain, a large party 685
 would fish in, force and depend upon their allied strength to protect them.
 But even then, the poaching would take place on the waterfrontage of the 622
 poachers' own chief.

If, as sometimes happened, a man fished in a canoe before the lands of 423
 a chief other than his own, he would then present his first catch (a large 622
 number of fish) to the chief, who might then allow the man to continue 226
 fishing for the day. A story is told of an inland man who fished in a
 canoe before the *tofia* of the first Tungi. When he landed his canoe, Tungi
 himself confronted him, bit each fish on the back of the neck and said,
 "These fish are mine."

At variance with these assertions are the statements of Okoa informants 423
 that the people of their island might fish anywhere in Vavau, and that 226
 claim to a fishing place is established by setting up on the reef a stick with
 a leaf attached—such a statement probably pertains to modern conditions
 only. Another example of communism at Okoa, which is probably modern, 423
 is the use of a boat of one or two tons burden which belongs to the whole 226
 village. The boat may be used by individuals for fishing. If the catch is 501
 large it is shared with fellow villagers, and in any event the mayor is given 621
 part of the catch. 622

The stone dam (*paē*) built across a channel outlet to a pool on the reef, 423
 to trap the fish seeking the sea on the outgoing tide, was said to be the 226
 property of the family group occupying the adjoining tract.

COMMUNAL FENCES, CISTERNS, AND WELLS

Another example of communal effort, at least in modern Tonga, is the 423
 fence (*afonua*) which surrounds some villages to prevent the pigs straying 417
 into the neighboring plantations and uprooting the plants. Each taxpayer 361
 in a village has a certain length of fence to keep in repair. 231
 621

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of Nukualofa, the friends of Tupoutoa were like the seaweed that is taken by the current, they separated themselves and stayed as though they had joined Tonga. Only Ulakai, the paternal half brother of Tupoutoa, came with a few men. When the fleet arrived at Uiha they took Tupoutoa's body on shore. And after the *toloveifua* ceremony (presentation of gifts to bereaved) and the *ta-mee* (dancing) and the ceremonies of the funeral were over, Ulakai was appointed king at Veilupeia (in Uiha). That commenced the disturbance at Haapai.

Neither Haapai nor Vavau had any love for Ulakai, because of the separation of Nukualofa from them. Fuapau joined Tui Haa Ngana and they took Ulakai to Haa Ngana as though they had joined together; and Uihla stayed at Uiha and the Lulunga (western Haapai) people went to Tungua. The Lofanga people went to their own island. Laufilitonga (later Tui Tonga) went to Velata and dug strong fortifications there. Tuita went to Pangai and Ulukalala went to Toa. Each dug his fort. They did not dig fortifications for war but for protection, as no one had been appointed as supreme ruler over them. They did this while waiting for the *toloveifua* that was said to be coming from Tonga. Taufaahau (later King George I) was still going about as a youth with Ulukalala, because he had not reached his thirtieth year. Vavau rose up and dug fortifications: the forts of Lua and Vuki at Feletoa stood for Haapai. Tonga waited, then sent three vessels. It was not war, they came only to see Ulakai. They chose the bravest warriors in Tonga to come. The ship with three houses on deck (*fafevakatolu*) and the canoe with two houses on deck (*fafevakaua*) and the ship with eight houses on deck, all had come because Haapai was in confusion. The Tui Haa Teiho sided with Fuapau and Ulakai. They had come trusting to that perhaps. They all assembled at Haano, the vessels from Tonga, Haapai, and Ulukalala's vessels from Vavau. Ulukalala's vessels went perhaps to see what the other vessels were doing. There was an entertainment which was called *mangisi* (feast prepared for strangers) because there was a vessel that had just arrived from Fiji.

The vessels were prepared and approached like the *veli* (a water insect like a centipede). They said, "Fight," and Fuapau answered, "Fight." Fuapau was not still siding with Ulakai and the vessels from Tonga, but with Haapai's party. But Tui Haa Teiho still sided with Ulakai and his vessels and was one with them. Ulukalala and his vessels stayed at a distance at Loloko and did not go to the feast. Only a few of them went and the war was suppressed. After that Ulakai returned to Tonga. Then Haapai settled down in peace. Vessels were prepared to take Ulukalala to Vavau and all Haapai went. Some people of the chief Vuki were murdered and there was nearly war. But Ulukalala's people were crafty and soon they were reconciled, and Ulukalala went and dwelt at Feletoa. The Haapai people returned to their own island. And they dwelt thus as though Vavau were submissive to Vuki. They watched each other like two male turtles, smooth on the surface only.

One day Vuki went down to have a bath in the stream Tufutele. When he came out of the water he met Ulukalala in the road. They conversed pleasantly, and Ulukalala invited him to go with him to his place and have some kava. Messages were sent to Ulukalala's people to come and make the kava and Vuki was asked to stay in the inclosure of Finau (Ulukalala) while men were sent to club Vuki's people, the people that had clubbed Taliauli-Malohi. Vavau subsided and proved the truth of the saying of Taufaahau: "Vavau is like a handful of dry sand." They let down Vuki whom they had upheld, while they turned and upheld Ulukalala. It is true what Sarulo says, "I will not be friendly with a double tongued people." Vuki was banished to Haapai and Finau (Ulukalala) was supreme ruler at Vavau. He portioned out the land at Vavau and he gave each of the chiefs a piece of land. The piece of land called Leimatua belonged to Taufaahau. Finau (Ulukalala) knew that that piece of land was Taufaahau's, so he ill treated the people. Taufaahau knew that the people were ill treated because of him, so he sent word to the elders (or principal men) to go and tell Finau that he had given back the land to him, to please himself as to whom he would give it. It was done, and Taufaahau withdrew. Just about that time

because if they dwelt near together their people would not dwell in peace but would create discord. Then there would be another war. The Tui Haapai listened and they were reconciled and then he went to Uiha. Ulukalala did this perhaps because he thought that Tui Haapai would not be contented to live at Uiha, but Taufaaahau went and dwelt at Mataaho, Uiha, and often went to Lofanga. There he built his ship called Lolohea. When it was finished he brought it to Uiha to make its sails. After some time he sailed to Tonga and went and lived with Maafu and had dancing entertainments with the children of Maafu. But the people of Tonga did not like that as they were afraid, for they knew that he was a strong man. After staying some time, he went to Eua on a friendly visit to Kaufana. He took with him two fishing canoes. He returned from there with three guns. He came and stayed some time in Tonga, then prepared to sail for Haapai. Some thought that when he reached Haapai that there would be a disturbance. Some men went with him from Tonga.

When they came it seemed that the people of the Tui Tonga wished to cause strife. If their vessel went to the outer islands, they caused a disturbance. It was too much for Taufaaahau to stand.

He prepared the biggest vessel in Haapai for him to sail to Tonga and it was called the Uluvalu (*ulu*, head; *valu*, eight). More than a hundred people could go in her, and he sailed from Lifuka and stopped at Haafeva. And Taufaaahau said that there should be a vessel from the Tui Tonga's fort sailing with him. His brother (or cousin) Puatalevu was a chief that had been to Fiji, and Taufaaahau loved him. That was the way, as it is now, with Taufaaahau—his love for his enemies made him fight only when driven to it by aggression. He did not wish to take the vessel. Taufaaahau's warriors were very angry and crashed their weapons. They went on board their vessel with him and returned to Uiha. The other vessel remained. When they reached Uiha the Tui Tonga was there with his people. They came and pushed Taufaaahau's people. That day passed and still Taufaaahau did not wish to fight the people of the vessels of Laufilitonga.

Next morning the people of the Tui Tonga went on board their vessels. Had they all gone it would have been all right, but the warriors were told not to sail to Tatafa Island but to go overland there. They went and pushed the warriors of Taufaaahau, who were at the land's end, to the sand and both sides said, "Velo! (Throw the spear), Velo!" A man called Kuli, on the Tui Tonga's side, threw the spear. Moalatea was killed. The warriors from Velata (the Tui Tonga's warriors) were chased and they went over the ford connecting Uiha and Tatafa. Taufaaahau was then told that it was war. He pursued them over the ford, but the army of the Tui Tonga had reached Tatafa. Taufaaahau gave chase but the enemy was too far ahead. The guns were fired from the Tui Tonga's side and killed one of the warriors of Taufaaahau. Taufaaahau's warriors chased them till they escaped in their vessels at the end of the land at Auhangamea (the northern end of Tatafa Island). But one vessel's anchor caught and it was dragged on shore. The rest of the vessels sailed for Lifuka. Taufaaahau's warriors ran back to Uiha. They ran and put food into their vessels at Veitupu. I should think that they ran nearly three miles and the vessels sailed and chased the enemy to Lifuka. If their vessels had been near they might have caught the Tui Tonga's vessels and killed the people or killed them at sea. But when they reached Lifuka all the warriors had gone to their own places and they fought from outside. And Lavulavu was sent to the Tui Tonga's chiefs to tell them they had chased them at their own wish. It was for what they had done, but they had escaped here. "Well let them stay and take care of their land, while we go back to our island." They set sail and returned to Uiha.

A message from Taufaaahau was sent to the outer islands as far as Nomuka for them to assemble, as it was to be war. It was as though the army of the Tui Tonga had gone mad. They each became drunk and went to Foa to attend to other things. They thought that war would not start so soon, but after about five days all the different islands had assembled and Taufaaahau led or steered the fleet. The fort (Velata, the Tui Tonga's fort) knew that they were coming and all

preparation for evacuating, till all were removed from the fort. There was a man 173
called Malafu in the old fort (Kolomotua) of Nukualofa. He was a very good night 669
scout. At midnight he crept to Maufanga to see why there was no longer any shout- 726
ing. He listened at the fortification fence. There was no one making the slightest
noise. Then he jumped over the fence into the enclosure. It was deserted and he
climbed back again and walked quietly to the lagoon landing place and swam to
Folaha. Here he listened but there was no sound of men. He entered the fort
and the pigs stampeded. The people had fled. Then he swam back and reported at
Nukualofa that the two forts of Maufanga and Folaha were deserted and that their
goods were left. Then the army was told to prepare to go and lie in ambush near Pea.

One day the warriors from Haapai and Vavau were told to lie in ambush on the
upper road near Tufumahina, while the Nukualofa army went by the marsh. The
Pea and Mua warriors came out of the Pea fortress headed perhaps to Nukualofa
and they were preceded by their scouts. If it had not been for that they would
have proceeded further forward and none would have escaped. Taufaaahau's men
rushed forward and fought the Pea warriors and there were killed the brave men
who were called by the names Taufaaahau, Keiano, Fakatene, and a great many
other people. The enemy was chased back to Pea. Moeakiola, the young chief of
the fort of Pea, came and stood at the gate of the fort and told all the Pea troops
to return and take shelter on the inside of the fortification fence. The shooting
continued from Taufaaahau's army outside the fence. A shot went through the gate
of the fortification and a man was wounded by it and died.

Taufaaahau's army returned to Nukualofa and remained quiet. There was no
war for some time. Fatu [father of Tungi I] came from Mua and made peace with the
Tui Kanokupolu Josiah. Taufaaahau and his warriors returned to Haapai and Vavau,
each to his own land, and the Tongan warriors remained in Tonga and there was
peace for some time. The army at Nukualofa dispersed, each man going to his own
district.

Ata's family went and dug a fort at Foui and they dwelt there. But there was 173
not peace between Ata and Vahai and their children on the one hand, and the people 669
that had become Christians and who dwelt at Foui on the other hand, because Ata's 748
people brought their heathenish preparation for their *masi* feast through the Foui 726
road. The Christians said that it was not yams to eat, but things for their gods.
So Vahai was very angry and killed Ahomee. So the fort of Ahomee took up arms
and many were killed in that fight of the big fort of the heathens and the little
fort of the Christians.

A message was again sent to Taufaaahau at Haapai, that Tonga was at war 173
again. They were told that he was at Vavau, so they went to Vavau. Taufaaahau 669
came with the vessel of Paul Halaevatu that had come from Tonga, and the two 726
vessels sailed for Haapai. On reaching Haapai he told Jioeli and Jiosai and all
Lifuka to launch his great war vessel and to follow in her, while he went ahead in
the vessel that had come from Tonga.

The great warship was soon in the sea and about two hundred soldiers went on 501
board. They sailed at once. But when they were nearing Nomuka they were not 716
able to bale out the water from the hulls fast enough, so they returned to Haafeva.
When they reached there, there was a small sailing vessel belonging to Haafeva,
the property of Havealeta. They arranged with the two men that a few should go in
the small vessel to the war lest the big vessel might not be able to go. So Kavacfi
and Kulitapa went in it to Tonga.

It was very stormy and rough at sea, and when they were near Tonumea the
sail was torn and it was let down, while a small sail was put up. The big one was
mended and they sailed with it to Tonga. They nearly failed to reach Haatafu
because it was getting dark when they left Atata behind, but after a while they
passed the small reef and on nearing shore they found that they were at the sand
banks of Toketeke, so they tacked and headed back to Atata. When they had

[1829-1865]

When the fight at Velata was resumed, Tautaaahau's warriors were having breakfast, as Laufilitonga's men made a sortie. Tautaaahau's men quit eating, Tautaaahau called for his gun. Malupo brought it and asked permission to use it. It was granted. Malupo shot Laufilitonga's son. When he fell, the Tui Tonga's men fled, but they asked where they got the gun and gunpowder. Tautaaahau's men replied from the *moto* (edge of precipice), referring to Eua. A well on Lifuka is named Onemato to commemorate this reply. 173 669 726

A tract at south edge of Pangai is called Matuku, meaning "the fight is over," in commemoration of the surrender of Velata to Tautaaahau. Velata was a double-walled and double-ditched fortress. [712]

Fakailoatonga was the name of the chief who treacherously speared Tautaaahau in the calf during the siege of Velata. Tautaaahau was not yet king when this happened. Tautaaahau withdrew the spear and killed Fakailoatonga with it. Fakailoatonga was said to be his father's brother. There seems to have been a scouting expedition in which Tautaaahau was accosted in a friendly manner by Fakailoatonga of the enemy's camp and then treacherously speared.

At the conclusion of the war Tautaaahau put the Tui Tonga and his chiefs in a boat and told them to go and not land again in Tonga, but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi I, took them ashore at Lapaha.

TAUTAAHAU AND ULUKALALA VERSUS THE HEATHENS OF VAVAU

In 1829 Tautaaahau and Peter Vi, an early convert to Christianity, introduced the Methodist church into Haapai. In 1831 Ulukalala IV (Finau Tuapasi), the great chief of Vavau, embraced Christianity, becoming a convert of the Methodist missionaries at the urging of Tautaaahau, the Tui Haapai. Tautaaahau had sailed to Vavau with a fleet of 24 large double vessels and peaceably induced Ulukalala to embrace Christianity. Now follows Peter Vi's (3) narrative of events at Vavau, of which he was an eye witness. The siege of the fortress of Otea took place in 1832 and lasted but three days. 797 [716] 501 173 797 798 669 726

I went to Koloa, Vavau, [in 1831.] and we prepared to sail in the vessel to Haapai. We were only two nights there, when Tautaaahau sailed again to Vavau to bring Halaevatu Mataaho. Then Tautaaahau arranged with Finau [Ulukalala] for us to have service together on the Sabbath. Tautaaahau went and took the kava of the god Tautaitahi to Afu, whose god he was, and they teased him, then burnt the god. Then we went and had our service with Finau. Vavau was in commotion and divided into two parties. Lua dwelt at Feletoa and Ulukalala dwelt at Neiafu and the people were divided between the two. Whoever were Christians went to Ulukalala, whoever were heathens went to Lua, each preparing for war. Tautaaahau returned to Haapai, Vavau having accepted Christianity. Finau expected that I would be left with him. But Mr. Thomas [a Methodist missionary] would not let me remain, and after some time Jeremiah Kamoto was sent from Tonga to Vavau, and Tautaaahau sailed again for Tonga.

When Tongatabu knew that the Vavauans had accepted Christianity and burnt their gods' houses it prepared for war and Tautaaahau's vessel, which was at Tongatabu, prepared to fight. That war did not materialize and Tui Haapai (Tautaaahau) returned. A message had been sent from Finau [Ulukalala], saying for Tautaaahau to make haste and come to Vavau, as there would be war soon. And we sailed and anchored at Taunga Island, Vavau group, in 1832.

Lua had dug fortifications at Otea on the island of Kapa. Two vessels came, all the crews of which were naked (sign of war) and they asked, "Whose vessels are these?" [291]

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bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party of the inhabitants hastily manned a *namatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning *Ata* has been derived entirely from modern Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island, and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. *Ata* is the title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is *Atā*, which is the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island, which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one town on *Ata* and it was called Kolomaila, literally Myrtle town. It was divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from the god of Pea to *Ata*. The people of *Ata* did not live on their farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming. Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of *Ata* is attributed to the diviner (16, p. 52). Apparently some time later the island was visited by a man named Motuapuaka, who eloped to *Ata* with the Tui Tonga's daughter named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to two informants from *Ata* there were already aborigines upon the island when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures upon arriving at *Ata* were related by Tupouata, a descendant of the principal chief of the island, the Tui *Ata*. According to one informant there

mant. A joint of the little finger of some close relative of a sick person was sacrificed as an offering to the god and was believed to result in the patient's restoration to health. As in Tongatabu the presence of the gecko indicated to the supplicants that the god had appeared. At this sanctuary there was a white stone called Makau (Calling-stone), thus having the same name as the priest at the god's sanctuary in Maufanga. It is said that when the god desired to assemble people he beat upon this stone and people would come. This statement probably means that the priest beat upon this stone, for Tongans seem not to discriminate often in their statements between the priest and the god, which seems natural enough according to the belief that the priest becomes the embodiment of the god. It is said that when Taufaahau was planning to come to Haapai from Tongatabu to destroy the temples of the gods, the stone Makau gave warning of this while Taufaahau was yet in Tongatabu. The stone Makau is reported to be buried in a vault in the cemetery at the beach in Faleloa, but just which vault it is not known.

The account of the Fotua informant (Mesake Lomu) concerning Tui Haa Fakafanua's establishment at Faleloa differs in certain details from the accounts of the Faleloa informants, and makes Makau the priest, and not the stone.

Tui Haa Fakafanua had a temple in Faleloa in the island Foa, Haapai group. His priest there was named Makau. The incarnation of the god was the gecko (*moko*), to which the people prayed. Should any person be ill, a finger of another person would be amputated and taken to Tui Haa Fakafanua.

The god had two other incarnations, namely the man-eating shark *tenifa*, also variously called mud shark and tiger shark, and the ordinary shark, *anga*. Should anyone desire to tapu his garden (plantation) he would make a wooden image of the man-eating shark and place it in the garden. If anyone stole from that garden and later went into the sea, he would be eaten by a shark. In Tui Haa Fakafanua's temple there was a basket in which was a whale's tooth and turmeric.

Makau, the priest of the god, owned a double sailing vessel (*kalia*) called the Fekitaki, which, when not in use, was kept covered with coconut-leaf mats. A man named Fangu, from Uvea stole the mats and thus exposed the vessel to the sun. When Makau arrived the vessel had been much damaged by exposure. So Makau stood at the water's edge and called out to Tui Haa Fakafanua, "Thy vessel has had mischief done unto it. Search for the perpetrator." Shortly afterwards the thief Fangu bathed in the sea. Then he sat on the dry sand and made himself some kava. While so doing a huge man-eating shark bit and ate him.

Tui Haa Fakafanua appears to have had also a god house and a priest on the island of Nomuka, Haapai. It is said that the god made people "silly" who came to consult him.

McKern (42) excavated on Pangaimotu Island, near Tongatabu, a mound which was formerly the site of a temple to Tui Haa Fakafanua. Takai, the chief of Pea, is said to have lived for a time on Pangaimotu early in the nineteenth century, but declined to build his house on this site, which was evidently then deserted, even though it was a fine high and dry location. His

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TRANSACTIONS AT

687 the Hapai chiefs and warriors, that were with
727 the king, appeared under arms, as also a cer-
669 tain Vavaoo chief, named Paoónga, a relation
and confidant of Finow; all the rest of the
Vavaoo chiefs and matabooles remaining un-
armed, lest they might excite in Finow a sus-
picion that they meant to take hostile measures.
About mid-day, or a little after, the large
canoe, in which were the prisoners, lashed hand
and foot, pushed out to sea, under the com-
mand of Lolo Hea Malohi, an adopted son of
Finow. They had on board three old small
canoes, in a very leaky, rotten state, in which
the prisoners were destined to be put, and thus
to be allowed gradually to sink, leaving the
victims to reflect on their approaching dissolu-
tion, without having it in their power to help
themselves.

687 The distance they had to go was about two
763 leagues: the weather being calm, the canoe
727 was obliged to be paddled most of the way. In
669 the mean while, some conversation passed be-
● (501) tween the prisoners, particularly between Now-
faho and Booboono. Nowfaho observed to
Booboono, that it would have been much bet-
ter if they had never made a peace with Finow,
and, to a certain degree, he upbraided Boobo-
noo with not having followed his advice in this
particular: to this the latter replied, that he

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have been transplanted, in order to give them
a finer and softer texture. 285
[241]

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the
fow or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes 285
237
to keep out the wet, as the water does not da- [242]
mage them : they appear as if they were made
of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he
saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made
of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed [177]
that it must have been procured from some
horses that Cook had left there.

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves 285
of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of 513
various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy
or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole
length of the house.

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the 285
fa; they are very strong and light. [501]

Tacapo, mats for flooring houses, made of [352]
the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Tattów, a sort of matting, plaited in a very [353]
ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut
leaves: they are used to screen the sides of
houses from the weather.

Cato, baskets: these are of various construc- [415]
tions; sometimes of a sort of matting made [531]
with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.;
at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-
nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk

deck of the smaller canoe, where he really belongs, and where his talent in song and verse is useful, to spring to the steer-oar. "That we may be equal" seems to be an equalizing of Mamaeapoto with men in general for, though it would not seem that Falepapalangi claimed much skill in a canoe, still he had normal hands and Mamaeapoto had not. The oars were in pairs, and the sense may be more exclusively the figurative one of claiming equality with Falepapalangi, who represents himself and Mamaeapoto as a pair of rowers or steersmen, working in successful partnership at their task of providing entertainment. 539

14. Falepapalangi returns to the claim of seamanship with another gibe at Mamaeapoto's hands. The *huari* was a short pole, lashed outboard from the outrigger canoe, on which, in rough weather, a man stood, moving along it to keep the boat's balance; from here he also gave sailing directions. Obviously it was not the place for a man who was not physically perfect. Furthermore, if he needed anything, for instance food, it was simply thrown to him. Hence the gibe. (501) (502)

15. The word *ama* is the name of the smaller of the two canoes in a double canoe, where the passengers and those not on duty sit, and pass the time in conversation and singing; *mata'u* is the name of the larger of the two canoes where the work is done. Hence *lau-ama*, sing, *lau-mata'u*, work. (502)

16. "Stand in the song," that is, dance; a more literal translation would be "sing standing." The hands are clapped in much of the dancing. (535)

Pages 69-70. A dance song of Falepapalangi

1. The phrase *toi ke lilo* is from the game of hide-and-seek. The poet advises the rival to keep out of sight, but if he is unwilling to be hidden at any rate not to attempt to equalize himself with men who can really do things. (524)

2. The word *lufe* means pigeon, and has reference to the sitting on the deck of the canoe chatting and singing. The pictures of sea life throughout the piece are to be taken literally, and with metaphorical application to skill in poetry.

3. The decking in the forward part of canoe, where men fit for difficult work were stationed, was termed *faka-lakepa*. In rough weather men sometimes lay there, forming a living bulwark to prevent the boat from being swamped. (501) (502)

4. I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the word *tokotofa*, but from the context it seems to be a part of the boat for passengers and men not on duty.

5. The metaphor changes to that of a sea-bird seeking food. The rival is the bird, wearied with a long and fruitless flight, "I will get in ahead of him by a short cut, by another road."

6. The pigeon-snaring mounds, which were such a favorite theme of poetry. (538)

7. Possibly refers to a victory of the bard at Matahina, a reef in Vavay, a famous shark-fishing ground. If Mamaeapoto is the rival all the more point is given to Falepapalangi's claim of victory over him in respect of localities in Vavay.

8. The lines beginning "In the land, thou saidst, I delight" have some reference to actual seamanship, yet the main current of meaning concerns poetry. When it looked as though Tonga would be beaten in the contests of bards, Falepapalangi was able to steer her to victory.

Pages 70-71. A poem of Mamaeapoto

1. Fifta and Ulialangatau are probably *matapule* of Ulukalala. 539

2. That you would honor me. 484

3. His skill in verse is the reason that the poet was to hold himself in readiness to sail. 505

4. The remark is addressed to the assemblage to whom he actually recited the poem. 837

5. Two currents of thought are expressed; one complimentary, the other not. Women are not regarded as useful members of the crew in working the boat, but are appreciated for their assistance in minor matters that make for the comfort of voyaging, and especially for the brightness they give by their presence and conversation and song. (562)

6. "We shall fashion a wonder boat, whose different parts are the localities named; our boat shall be a song celebrating all these places." Since different localities are accustomed to cooperate in large tasks, this carries the sense of a grandiloquent call by the disappointed man to all these places—islands, hills, and beaches.

7. Moahengi is apparently the name of a man in Uiha, an island of Haapai.

made on the native mind that a living Tongan, a very capable sailor and pastor of the Wesleyan Church, is still pointed out as the grandson of the man who performed the feat.

23. Laulea; a beach in eastern Tongatabu, suitable for surf-riding. 533
24. Anamanu and other localities mentioned are all in Vavau. 539
25. Kao, the high volcanic cone in the western extremity of Haapai; Lofia, the crater lake in the companion island Tofua. 643
26. Kafoa, a hill in Vavau. Aloitalau, the crest of the hill Talau in Vavau. 669
27. I have not identified the *esi o* Koloakimaha, but it is probably one of the numerous peaks on the beautiful uplands of Eua. 533
28. The *maile* is a creeping plant. 539
29. The *pua* is a tree with sweet-scented flowers. In *I le tao, le* is the Samoan, not the Tongan, article. 103
30. "When one champion falls another steps forward to take his place." This first line has passed into proverbial use. 533
31. The word *tui* (pierce) is used of all piercing weapons; *toa*, of which clubs were made, is used of all striking weapons. The second line is an encouragement, or incitement, to rush into battle whilst the army is still up to its full numbers. Numbers 29 and 30 are war chants formerly sung in the taunting which preceded the general engagement. 824
32. The word *toho* means pull, and *io*, yes; a *mai* may possibly mean, wake up, that is, be lively at the work. The meaning of *amatu* is not known. The word *omatoi* is sometimes used instead of *amatu*, with the responses *loi* or *lioi*. 824
33. The localities named are all in Eua. Tava is the northeastern headland of that island; Matalave, a stream near by; Koloutukape, a fortress where a warrior defeated his foes by digging holes, and covering them with leaves of kape (*Arum costatum*) and then inciting the enemy to run over them. 192
34. The *puke* is the decking at the stern and bow of a canoe. Those who sit there take no part in the work. This chanty represents men sitting in the *puke* and resting, and then in turn taking their part in the work, and one after another returning "badly" to the deck to rest. Why "badly" is not clear. 726

Page 125. Present day love songs

1. The ideas *huni* and *kulukono* (two fragrant plants) are here used to denote the absent sweetheart. 192
2. The name *langakali* (a sweet smelling flower) is of course used of the sweetheart. Portions of the last two lines are missing from my copy, and evidently a line is lost from the end of the second stanza. 103
3. The plant names *kuku-valu*, *hingano*, *huni*, and *siale-tafa* and white rose are all applied to the girl. 501

[824]

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172 down until a natural plane of lateral cleavage was reached. Wooden poles
483 were then used as levers to lift the loose slab from its bed, and other poles
172 were slipped under the slab across the cavity formed by the removal of the
[316] stone. Skid poles were placed transversely across the path over which the
stone was destined to move, and the slab was started on its way to the building
site by means of tug-ropes and unstinted cooperative man power. Levers
were used at places where progress became exceptionally difficult. The
process of hauling stones overland over skidways was called *makafunwaloto*;
172 the officer in charge was called *maiaua*. A quarry site on Lifuka Island,
316 Haapai, is shown in Plate I.

TRANSPORTATION OF STONE

172 Stone structures were found on islands where no quarries could be
located, and stone quarries on islands where there are no stone structures.
172 That large stones were carried over considerable water distances is evidenced
505 by the fact that no stone structures, aside from one small burial cist, was
found on Motutapu or on any neighboring island closer than Tongatabu,
whereas stones 6 feet wide and 10 feet long have been removed from the
Motutapu quarries.

505 Living informants give the following account, remembered from the testi-
mony of the preceding generation, of how stones were taken from one island
to another:

● [501] The boats, at first the *tungiaki* and later the *kalio*, were large double-hulled sailing
505 vessels, bridged with spacious decks, quite capable of carrying heavy loads. The vessel
504 was brought as near to the shore as possible without running the risk of grounding, and
there anchored to stakes set up on the shore. The anchoring place was usually at the
505 very edge of a coral shelf, extending outward from the main shoreline, which was sub-
483 merged at high tide and comparatively dry at low tide. The stone was dragged over
skids to the edge of this coral shelf. Heavy wooden poles were then placed each with
one end on the deck of the vessel and the other end crossing the abrupt edge of the coral
shelf. These served as skids over which the stone was dragged onto the deck, where it
was carefully adjusted and balanced, then tied by many ropes radiating from the stone
to various parts of the vessel. In removing the stone from the vessel the reverse order
was used. Some of the smaller stones were carried by groups of men, selected for
their great strength, who placed the stones on the decks of the vessels without the aid
of skids.

173 Certain traditions credit a large vessel named *Lomipeau* with bringing
172 stones to Tongatabu from Uvea (Wallis) Island, for use in the construction
505 of Telea's tomb, *Paepasotelea* (p. 51). The boat is described as being so
large that its hulls passed on either side of the island of Hungatonga, while
the deck swept over the tops of the trees. As all the stones in Telea's tomb
are coral limestone whereas Uvea is a volcanic island, it seems that the only
possible element of truth in this legend is that some of the stones used in the
structure may have been brought from other islands.

The problem of the origin of stone construction in Tonga is one of special interest because of a possible relationship between the masonry of Tonga and of other provinces in Oceania. Of structures in dressed stone which are found in many south Pacific islands, and of which even fairly accurate descriptions are available, those of Fiji seem to be closest in type to those of Tonga. I do not mean to include all Tongan and all Fijian structures in such a comparison, but the platform tomb with slab vault occurs in both Tonga and Fiji, as do less important structures and a great many technical processes and resultant effects involved in the stone mason's art. At present there is no way of determining whether the art of masonry was carried from Tonga to Fiji, or contrawise, although it is highly probable that each profited from the ideas of the other during later stages of development. A strong cultural connection cannot be denied. The abrupt, initial occurrence of stone masonry, in a highly developed stage, during the reign of Tui Tatui, as indicated by native tradition, suggests an introduction at that time of the art into Tonga from some outside source; the same traditions definitely describe a Fijian intrusion at that time. A study of the stone structures of Tonga tends to support the general truth of these traditions to a remarkable degree.

There is little similarity between the dressed stone structures of Samoa, such as they exist, and those of either Tonga or Fiji, in spite of the close cultural and racial ties connecting Tonga and Samoa. A few, rather superior Samoan structures were probably built by the Tongans during a period of Tongan political dominance over her larger relative. Excluding these structures from consideration, Samoan masonry was peculiarly different from the more highly developed stone craft of Tonga. A basic majority of the culture traits of Tonga appear to have had their immediate origin in Samoa, which was certainly settled long before Tonga. Tongan and Samoan traditions both name Samoa as the ancestral home of the Tongans. From this it seems reasonably clear that Tongan masonry had a source different from that of Tongan basic culture.

The burial mound, as it occurs in Tonga, is not a characteristic feature of Samoa. In Fiji it occurs as a common form of burial place. The mound appears to have been the prototype from which the platform and pyramid tombs were developed. This, again, indicates Fiji as the probable source of Tongan stone work.

It may be argued that the art of masonry was more highly developed in Tonga than in Fiji, and is more likely to have originated in the country of its higher development. However, such a conclusion does not necessarily follow. The Tongans are historically known to have discarded their own large sailing vessel, the *tungiaki*, and to have adopted the superior Fijian *ndrua*. In the course of one generation the Tongans were not only building *ndrua*, a *ndrua* type of vessel superior to the Fijian product, but were actually

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172 being employed by the Fijians to build vessels (17). A similar specializa-
 171 tion in stone work, under the encouragement of a favorable political state,
 333 might in the same way have produced a technique superior to that of the
 501 place from which the craft was introduced.

The importance of Fijian influence over Tongan culture is apparent in
 172 aspects other than that of masonry. The fortifications of Tonga were less
 171 like those of Samoa than like those of Fiji. Tongan pottery is certainly
 [712] Fijian in origin and basic type; Samoa had no pottery. Tongan burial methods
 [323] were much more like those of Fiji than of Samoa. The Tongan language
 [764] has borrowed a considerable number of Fijian terms. This list of Fijian
 [192] elements intrusively present in the culture of Tonga might be carried to a
 tedious length.

There is nothing extraordinary in the tendency of Tonga to drift, cul-
 172 turally, farther away from Samoa and closer to Fiji. The Samoans were
 171 relatively peaceful; the Fijians were warlike. Tonga, possibly under the
 648 influence of its political solidarity, became a power at war, and the mingled
 admiration and sympathy of its young men of social prominence went to
 Fiji rather than to Samoa. Fiji became the war college of Tonga, whose
 young men were sent to this distant seat of interminable quarrels and petty
 wars to acquire experience in the war parties of Fijian chieftains. Aside
 from this, Samoa was a land of people and things similar to those of Tonga;
 Fiji was a land of strange people and strange customs. The spirit of curiosity
 and adventure, so apparent in the Tongan, attracted him to the new and
 strange rather than to the more familiar and less exciting. He felt the lure
 [501] of the unfamiliar, the enchantment of the strange land. The fact that Fiji
 possessed a type of sailing vessel far superior to any in either Tonga or
 Samoa, and the necessity for Tonga, with its hundred and more scattered
 islands, to survive as a political unit only through a mastery of sea craft,
 may have had an important bearing on the close cultural relationship which
 sprang up between the two countries.

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55.

FOOD

PREPARATION

54. *Fengutu a fei-umu ota*: To defend badly cooked (insufficiently cooked) food. 539
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To defend one's badly done work against the criticisms of others, as the man who has prepared and served underdone food may persist, in spite of all that others urge, in declaring that his feast is done to a turn.

55. *Fifi ika maka*: Wrapping rock fish in leaves. 539
252

Rock fish are those of fine quality. In cooking fish are frequently wrapped up in a sheath of plaited coconut leaves. The object of this is to keep the fish intact, and is a method employed specially in cooking fish of good quality. A "rock" fish is worth the trouble of plaiting the leaflets round it. Taking pains over a thing that is worth the care. (See No. 203.)

56. *Fifi ika vale*: Wrapping up a fish of no account.

This is the reverse of No. 55. Taking great pains over what is not worth the trouble.

57. *Hange ha feiumu uha*: Like cooking in the rain.

The preparation of food which is carried out in the open, or with the protection only of very inadequate shelters, is rendered difficult by rain; the food is liable not to be as well cooked in wet as in fine weather. This phrase is a rebuke to those who have performed badly a piece of work, although the conditions under which they labored were favorable. [46]

58. *Hange ha fokifokihi tunu*: Like the turning of food baked (in the embers).

Food cooked in this way must not be left alone, but constantly turned. Use of a thing that is in constant requisition.

59. *Hiki lepo*: Moving the *lepo* (leaves with which the earth oven is covered on the outside). 539
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It is used of taking advantage of the temporary absence of anyone to usurp that which belongs to him, "to jump his claim". It is said that the expression originated in one of the voyages of the great canoe called the *Lomipeau*, which is asserted to have brought in one trip from Uvea to Tonga the stones for many of the great sepulchral vaults of the highest chiefs. Seagoing canoes used to be equipped with a *talafu*, a large wooden bowl filled with earth in which ovens were made to cook the food. The *Lomipeau* had an immense *talafu* commensurate with her own huge size, so large that a number of ovens could be dug in it at the one time. It is the practice when the food is taken out of the oven to put aside the leaves with which it was covered, and not mix the leaves belonging to various ovens.

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539 On board the *Lomipcan*, however, was a man named Lasukau who disre-
252 garded this rule and moved things round at his pleasure; but no one dared
372 to remonstrate with him because of his personal strength and prowess. For
501 one to place his *lepo* at the side of an oven is to mark that oven as his; for
571 another to move this *lepo* is to disregard the claims of the first man.

539 60. Hina e toumohomoho: The plantain leaves (*toumohomoho*)
252 are white.

824 Plantain and banana leaves are used for covering up food in the
native oven. When the food is taken up these leaves are called *toumohomo*
and are used to line the baskets in which the food is taken to the
house where it will be eaten. These leaves are then cast aside as of no
further use. At first they are green, but as they fade their color becomes
whitish. If one sees such leaves lying about a house their color is an indi-
cation of how long they have been there, so that to say that the leaves are
white means that it is a long time since there has been a feast.

539 61. Kailu fa he tuunga u: To rummage for scraps in the middle
252 of the oven.

777 This is used of one whose aims are humble but who meets with an
372 unexpected stroke of luck. Just as the man who, searching for remains
in places where food has been cooked or eaten, suddenly comes upon un-
anticipated plenty, here denoted by the middle and lowest part of the oven
where the food is most in quantity and best in quality. *Tuunga u*, trans-
lated the middle of the oven, means literally the standing-place of the *u*,
the stick with which the hot stones are arranged in the earth oven. This
stick is used to arrange the stones up the sides of the hole, beginning at
the bottom, so that the standing-place from which the stick begins its
operations is the lowest and midmost part of the oven.

539 62. Kina umu tala ki tahi: Depending on the sea for the meat
226 part of a meal.

Looking to an uncertain source of supply; trusting to a capricious
support. So many are the hazards of the sea that there is a very good
chance of a late dinner if the joints cannot be found ashore.

539 63. Kuma jii vela hono iku: Little rat, his tail burnt.

262 Formerly the native rat, a vegetable feeder, was used for human food.
The rat at best is but a small animal, and therefore when he is being cooked
care should be taken not to burn his tail off. Being served with tail com-
plete makes the most of what size he is. This expression, an expostulation
against burning off the tail of the rat, has passed into a proverb for con-
serving as carefully as possible all there is of any small object.

86 Occasional Papers Bernice P. Bishop Museum

539 arises between them the blame should fall not on the stationary *kaloa* but
225 on the boat which went to the place where the *kaloa* lives.
183

246. Utu tahi moe alaala too: Carrying seawater and rummag-
ing for the *too*, a kind of shell-fish.

Literally this indicates one who has been to the sea to bring water and while there has taken the opportunity to do a little shell fishing. It is applied to one who while ostensibly occupied about some task, or in doing some errand, has taken the opportunity presented by this job of doing some private business. An illustration of it is a person apparently very willing to go on an errand for another, but whose real reason for going is the opportunity that will be given to meet someone whom he is anxious to see.

SHIPS AND SAILING

539 247. Faka-fotu-la: Appearing by sail.

501 The appearance of the sail of a boat too far out at sea for her hull to be distinguished is not always a safe guide in estimating the size of the vessel, as little ships sometimes have big sails. This is said to have been notably the case with the old Tongan canoe called the *tongiaki*.

539 248. Fakahua kae paea pe: Tacking but just drifting.

502 A sea expression meaning a boat which is beating up against the wind but making little headway, being drifted out of her course by currents [46] or waves. Applied to a man who is working against obstacles but whose efforts are not meeting with much success.

539 249. Fakato vaka a Kupolu:

431 We have not been able to get any explanation of this phrase. The meaning given by Baker is, "To give and take again by force." (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 207.) The literal meaning seems to be, "Handing over a boat of (or by) Kupolu," and probably there is connected with it a story of a boat given to the people of Upolu in Samoa, or given by them to someone else, and then taken back by the original owner.

539 250. Fakatou katea: Both *katea*.

501 The *katea* is the larger of the two canoes in the Tongan double boat. If both canoes are large and capacious so that scarcely any distinction can [51] be made between them they might be described as both *katea*. The expression is applied in various ways, as of a well mated couple, or generally of two things which are both good and useful of their kind.

539 251. Foa kau tuu: Smash. I'll stand, that is, stand safely on the
502 shore.

Used of a boat in danger near the land the crew of which determine to let her drive on shore regardless of rocks or breakers. The boat will

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87

certainly be smashed but her human occupants have a chance of life. 539
Human life is more valuable than any boat. 503
[181]

252. *Hange ha fana fotu*: Like a mast that shows up. 539

Refers to a tall mast which stands out clearly among other masts and which appears for a long distance at sea. Used of that which is obvious. "Plain as mud in a wine glass," "Plain as the nose on your face." (Compare No. 331.) 501

253. *Hange ha lingi lolo ki ha tahi peaua*: Like pouring oil on a rough sea. 539
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The Tongans have long been familiar with the effect of oil on rough water. Sometimes if no oil were at hand but coconuts were available they would chew coconut flesh and spit it out on to the rough sea. The metaphorical application is identical with the English, "Pouring oil on the troubled waters."

254. *Hao he afa kae ngoto he tofu*: Safe from the hurricane but sunk in the calm. 539
829

This picture of a boat surviving great peril but perishing in calm through the folly or carelessness of her crew is applicable in the same way as the like idea is in English.

255. *Kanakana fai ki tahi*: Eating carried out at sea. 539

At sea some people are sick and cannot eat. A greedy man might put off eating till at sea knowing that some of his party who would have enjoyed food ashore will have no inclination for it at sea, and that thus there will be the more left for himself. 264
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256. *Ka ne faifai kau faka-hamahama*: If it had been that I had acted *hamu* fashion. 539
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The *hamu* was the leeward boat in the double canoe, also the outrigger in the single canoe. In the double canoe the *hamu* is smaller than the windward boat and is less used for passengers and cargo. Employed here to indicate a failure to act to the full extent of one's capacity. Used by one who has done his utmost and has accomplished a difficult task. If I had not done my best (I could not have done what I have done).

257. *Kataki e mama moe hopohopokia*: Eating a leak with seas coming on board. 539
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Kataki is to eat one thing as relish to another. In this expression the seas coming over the side are the relish to the leak. To be involved in the double danger of a leak and rough sea. Generally of a double misfortune or peril.

- 539 258. Kehe a Tonga nae folaua kae kitenoa ai a Eua: It was
505 Tonga to which the voyage was being made and the appearance
of Eua was of no account.

When boats are making for Tongatabu the high island of Eua shows up before the mainland is seen, but although Eua appears yet it is Tongatabu to which the boat is sailing and where she finally anchors. When one is in pursuit of some object the turning up of other things is a mere incident. This seems to be confined in its application to the case of a woman who falsely supposes that visits are being paid by a man to her when in reality they are paid to another lady living in the same place. The close association into which the lover is brought with the second girl is a mere incident of his courtship of the first.

- 539 259. Ki ama tae alomua: "To leeward" without being the man
502 in the bow.

When two or more men are paddling the native canoe it is the duty of the foremost to give sailing directions, typified by "*ki ama*," "towards the outrigger or leeward canoe." Anyone who was not the bow man, and yet presumed to give instructions to the crew, would fall under the rebuke of this expression.

- 539 260. Kite faka-fonua mounga: In sight like mountainous country.
505 A mountain appears to the ship far out at sea but it is a long time
183 before it is reached. A thing that appears but it is in reality far off and takes long to reach.

261. Koe mata mama: The chief leak.

In a boat which has filled and sunk there may be little leaks which in themselves would not have caused the disaster, but there is one big leak which is the real cause of the trouble. Generally of that which has been the fundamental reason of catastrophe.

- 539 262. Laukau he taula oe jiana kehe: To be proud of another
502 chap's coming up to the wind.

571 A metaphor from navigation, *taula* being to luff up into the wind. Employed of the useless pride of one man in the achievements of another with which he himself has had nothing to do.

- 539 263. Limua ae vaka: The boat is covered with seaweed; that is.
501 the boat has been neglected and left in the sea without use or without being hauled up for cleaning.

Applied to that which is suffering from long neglect and disuse, in the same way as we say in English that a thing is rusty.

- 539 264. Lujia ki taulanga: Weather-beaten to harbor.

505 The vessel although storm-tossed and battered has at length made port safely.

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265. Mamac a folau: Distant on a voyage.

This seems a fair representation of the literal meaning though it may be translated slightly differently. This rendering, however, well indicates the real meaning and use of the expression, which is that the one spoken of is at a distance but will return. He is away on a trip, not to stay, and in due course the time will come for his return.

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266. Mamac a hikuhiku jila: The distance of the tip of the yard, or the tip of the yard is distant.

This refers to that which is now at a distance but which later will be brought near. Just as in the boat the tip of the yard is far out of reach and hanging over the sea when the sail is set, but later on the sail will be taken in and the formerly inaccessible end of the yard will be brought within easy reach.

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267. Mata liu ae fine heke: The strange woman (that is, one without part or lot in the matter) looking at a boat's hold.

This is said to be referable mainly to important fishing, such as shark fishing, and to indicate women who go to the shore to see a boat with which they have no concern discharge her catch. The women who are connected with the boat would say in effect by this phrase, "Let these women look; that is as much as they will get out of it. Ours it is to share in the distribution of the spoil." It is referred to the fascination and interest which women unaccustomed to the sight of a boat unloading her cargo would find in the spectacle. They would wish to return again and again and see more of it. To this line of thought seems to belong its application to a woman enamored of a handsome man (*manuia*). She would never tire of going to look at him. The first idea seems to be present also. Let her look at the man; he will be another's prize. Baker, however, gives what is apparently an opposite meaning, "To be enamored of strange women." Its most common application, at any rate at the present day, would seem to be to women looking at the treasures being unloaded from a boat in which they have no concern.

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It is stated also that this expression has reference to the ceremony following the launching of a new boat, the *hopoki*, literally the getting on board. Before this ceremony the boat could not be entered by women. The ceremony might be performed by men but was usually done by women; the most proper person being the chiefiest woman amongst the people to whom the boat belonged. In this connection also the idea would be of the distinction between the "other" women who had no part nor lot in the boat, and those who were intimately connected with her. (Compare No. 400.)

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268. Mata vaka pikil vaka: Seeing boat, sticking to boat.

People are welcome to go and see other people's boats, but they must not go on board without permission or otherwise take the sort of liberties with her which one may take with his own property. A caution against meddlesomeness.

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- 539 269. *Matangi lelei to ki la mahaehae*: Good wind falling in torn
181 sail.

This indicates good opportunities put into the hands of those incapable of turning them to advantage.

- 539 270. *Ongo fakaevaha*: News like that from the open sea; more
203 literally from "between."

The stretch of sea separating one island from another is commonly spoken as "the between." One might employ the same mode of speech for being out at sea.

News from the open sea is the unreliable reports that travellers bring; yarns concocted while out at sea at a distance from good sources of information. It may be applied generally to stories that are not sufficiently founded on fact.

- 539 271. *Ohooho a liu lahi*: A large hold (of a boat) unfilled.
461

A large vessel of great carrying capacity may be unfilled and yet contain a very large cargo, while a small boat will be filled to overflowing by a much smaller load. Small people, and small receptacles, may appear to be carrying very large loads but in reality their burdens are much less than those easily borne by persons and vessels of greater capacity.

- 539 272. *Pata i la tuu or Pata i la kuo tuu*: Rejoicing in sail that is
502 standing.

Used of a high degree of satisfaction, such as that which the sailor feels when the breeze is fair, the sail well filled, and the boat making good way.

273. *Peau tupu-koso*: Wave rising (at the) *koso*.

[50] The *koso* is an ornamental carving at the bow and at the stern of the canoe. The expression refers to a wave that rises right under the bow or stern of the boat and gives the steersman very little time or opportunity to ride it properly. Hence of danger or calamity which comes suddenly upon one giving him but little time either to avoid it or take measures to meet it.

274. *Pelu la kei mamao*: Reef sail still at a distance, that is, while the storm is still at a distance.

[18] To have everything snug and prepared in ample time to meet a threatened danger.

- 539 275. *Pili e tauhala*: Near the rope, or the rope is near.
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The *tauhala* is a rope that was trailed astern in rough weather to afford succor to anyone who happened to be washed overboard. This expression is said to indicate primarily one who has been washed overboard and has nearly missed the saving rope; has nearly let it pass him before he

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs

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has succeeded in seizing it. Generally of one who has had a narrow escape. To be exposed to danger (Baker). 539
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276. *Po fakafitaa uli*: Night, persisting through difficulties (with) steering. 539
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Literally applied to a boat making her way through storm and darkness; the steering of the vessel is rendered extremely difficult but the sailor sticks bravely to his task, and in spite of difficulty and peril, the vessel holds on her course. Applied generally to hard, arduous tasks, especially with the idea of going through with them, refusing to be daunted.

277. *Punufuu hage ha fuu vaka Vavau*: Obstructing like a great Vavau boat. 539
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It is said that a boat coming from Vavau to Haapai was unlucky enough to run on one of the reefs there blocking the opening which was the entrance to the anchorage at that spot. The expression is applied, for example, to one who enters a room and plants himself down in front of the door.

278. *Ta e lango kei mamao*: Cut the slips still at a distance, that is, when the occasion for its use is still at a distance. 539
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Lango, rendered here by slips, is a timber for raising anything on like the timbers on which a boat is pulled up out of the water or launched. The slips on which a boat is launched is probably the timber specifically indicated in this expression. The meaning is to have the preparations for launching all made beforehand so as not to waste time about it when the day comes to put the vessel into the water. Generally, to prepare well ahead for anything.

279. *Takanga a tongiaki*: A *tongiaki* in company. 539

The *tongiaki* is one of the old sailing canoes of Tonga, not so large or seaworthy as the more familiar *kalia*. A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance. They had neither the size nor the qualities to make them very serviceable companions in distress; in fact each would be hard enough put to it to secure her own safety. So used of fair-weather friends. 501
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280. *Takanga enau fohe*: Mates (at) their oar; perhaps, their oars are mates. 539
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The Tongan sailing canoes had two, sometimes three, steering oars. In calm weather one man apiece sufficed for these oars but in storm more would be required. This phrase indicates that the men at the oars, whether one at each or more, are well matched in skill and so the steering is done well and harmoniously. Men who are all capable workmen laboring together and carrying out their task ably and agreeably.

539 281. *Tangata e taha oe vaka*: One man in the boat.

461 Only one able-bodied man on the job; all the rest are women and
561 children or old men. Everything on the shoulders of this one man.
562

539 282. *Tata tuli vaka*: Beating (of the native drum) chasing boat.

501 It was common for the sailing canoes to have a drum on board with
534 which arrivals and departures were announced. When two boats were
racing and one was on the point of overtaking the other the drum on the
overtaking boat was beaten in a particular way. (There were many different
ways of beating the drums in accordance with the purpose for which
they were sounded.) This beat of approaching victory naturally spurred
[461] the crew to their highest efforts. So of the exultant energy which is put
into a task which is on the point of being carried through to a successful
conclusion.

539 283. *Ta tefito mei ama*: Strike root from the leeward canoe.

571 This expression, which means to kill a man or woman for food, does
264 not seem to have passed into proverbial use. Roots are the stand-by in
[501] times of famine. In the leeward canoe were mostly found the passengers,
largely women, who were not occupied in the working of the vessel. To
strike a root from the leeward canoe, therefore, was to replenish the larder
by a foray amongst the passengers.

The phrase occurs in the tale of the voyage to Tonga from Fiji of
Tui Motuliki, the son of Sinailele and the bones of the two Maui, Atalanga
and Kijikiji, accompanied by the chief of Bau, Nokelevu. Each day during
the voyage when it was reported to Nokelevu that the oven was hot he
would order his people to strike a root from the leeward canoe and a man
would thereupon be slain and eaten.

539 284. *Tefua a vaka Lautala*: Gathering together of the boats of
571 Lautala.

183 This proverb does not seem to be any longer in use. Baker renders
it: "Clever hands gathered together at any work," in accordance with a
present-day explanation that it indicates things not large but valuable and
strong.

Lautala is the name of an anchorage or beach on the island of Haano
in the Haapai group. If this is the Lautala referred to it would seem to
have been a place noted for boat-building or seamanship. An informant
who has Fijian blood in him referred the expression to the island of
Lautala near Suva in Fiji. This is but a small island, and he explained the
phrase as probably meaning that when the boats of Lautala are gathered
together their utmost might is a thing of no account to the powerful chiefs
in the neighboring localities. There does not seem much support for this
interpretation, but the reference to the Fijian islet may be correct, especially
if its people were famed as boat-builders, a matter about which we
have no information. Tongans frequently get boats from Fiji. For the
[648] meaning "small but valuable" compare Nos. 85 and 203.
[501]

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285. Toki tau ae vaka e:

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be.

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286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail.

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip.

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288. Tuu e la mo poupou: The sail standing with support.

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety.

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289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat.

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat.

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290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders.

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose.

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291. Vakavaka mua: First boat.

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion.

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CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day.

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that, even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like.

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000 Outrigger. On the port side six booms connect with the float in typical manner (fig. 177, a), with the addition of a strengthening withy brace attached on one side of each set of connectives. This withy runs obliquely upward and inward from its distal attachment near or to the lower end of one of the inner stanchion connectives to be lashed to the boom at a point well inside of the attachment of the upper end of the same stanchion. (See fig. 179, c.)

A stringer is lashed fore and aft over the booms and under it are lashed the outer ends of six short pseudo-booms which do not connect with the float.

The booms are lashed upon the edges of the washstrakes with the attachment further strengthened on each side by an oblique sennit brace lashed above around the boom outside of the hull, and below through holes in the side of the dugout underbody. As the offside washstrake is slightly higher than that on the outrigger side, the booms slant downward toward the float; this enables the stanchions to be made shorter than if the booms were horizontal.

Rig. Each of the two masts is stepped in a socket in a circular boss on the bottom of the underbody and of one piece with it.

Formerly each mast was lashed against the after side of one of the booms, but today it passes through a median hole in a stout thwart lashed to the gunwales. The fore mast is stepped well forward and immediately abaft the foremost boom, the second mast behind the fourth boom.

This sailing canoe is used only within the lagoon and is said to load three tons of copra.

TECHNICAL TERMS

Aioka: withy brace to attachment.
Ama: float, outrigger side of canoe.
Ekengaulu: large double canoe.
Ikelima: large outrigger (five-man canoe).
Kaukau: outrigger boom.
Katea: off or starboard side.
Kiato: stringer across booms (the usual Polynesian term for "boom").
La: sail.
Mua vaka: forward end of canoe.
Muli vaka: after end of canoe.
Oa: washstrake.
'Oe: paddle.
Puke: forward end cover.

Talamoko: diamond-shaped boss on end cover.
Tata: bailer.
Tau ama: outrigger stay.
Tila: mast.
Tila lalo: boom of sail.
Tila lunga: yard of sail.
Tukuku mua: fore stay.
Tukuku muli: after stay.
Tutuki: stanchion connective.
Vaka: canoe or hull.
Vakalua: double canoe.
Velo: after end cover.
Wawa: sheet.

For the foregoing particulars of the Pukapukan canoe I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Gordon Macgregor, ethnologist of the Templeton Crocker Expedition.

TONGAN ARCHIPELAGO

501 At the present time the only surviving sea craft of indigenous origin in Tonga are numerous small dugouts (*bobao* and *tuingutu*) used in inshore fishing and a few plank-built sea-going canoes (*tafa'anga*) employed exclusively in the bonito fishery. All are provided with single outriggers having indirect attachment; the small dugouts are in general more roughly constructed than their Samoan equivalents, the *paopao* and the *soatau*. The *tafa'anga* is the counterpart, save in outrigger attachment, of the Samoan *va'a alo*. Larger vessels were formerly numerous but all are now non-existent. They comprise the following:

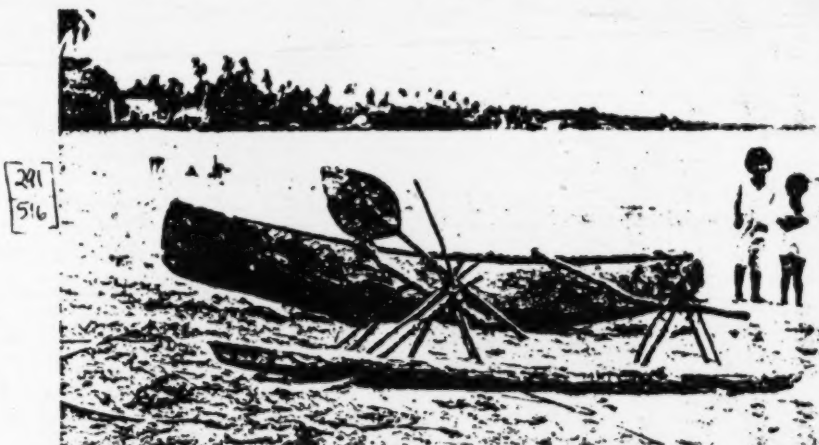
1. The ancient *vaka* type of voyaging outrigger canoe in use before intercourse with Fiji in the latter part of the eighteenth century caused its displacement by:
2. The modern *vaka* or *hanatafua*, a large and stoutly built sailing outrigger canoe, constructed on the lines of the Fijian *thamauan*.
3. The *tongiaki*, a double canoe of the same type as the Samoan *va'a tele*.
4. The *kalia*, a double canoe of Fijian origin and design which displaced the *tongiaki* during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Another extinct type is the *vaka-vaka-amci*, an antique float or raft of peculiar design.

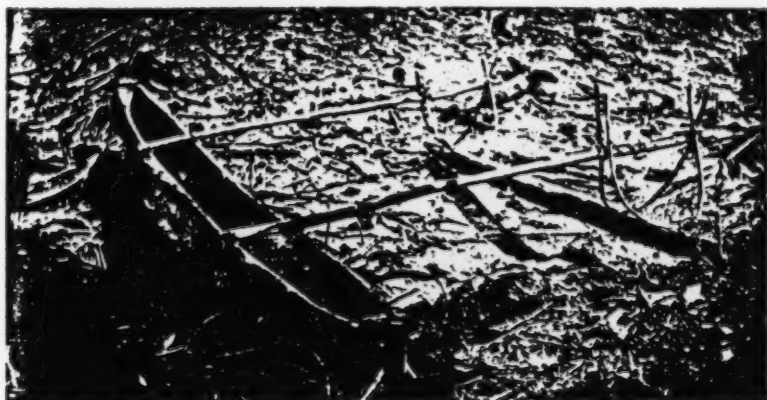
OUTRIGGER CANOES

BOBAO

- 501 The *bobao* of today, a small paddling canoe, has a dugout hull, the bottom round, the sides tumble-home, and commonly so roughly hewn out as to be little more shapely and adapted to be a canoe than one of the village slit drums were it to have the ends pointed. As observed during my visit to the islands in 1923, the hulls range in size from 10 to 15 feet in length, with an outside beam at the gunwale of 8 to 9 inches, increasing at the bilge to 12 to 16 inches; the depth ranges



a



b

FIGURE 180.—Modern Tongan dugout outrigger canoes (*bobao*): a, from Haapai, connectors are paired sticks, the forward set reinforced by an unpaired one; b, from Vavau, two double U connectors to each boom (photographed in 1923).

between 12 and 15 inches. (See fig. 180.) There are indications of a definite head and stern, one end being sharp or bluntly wedge-shaped, the other roughly pointed, characteristics also of Samoan and Tahitian hulls. The ends are solid for a distance of several inches. 501

The outrigger consists of two straight booms, projecting outboard on the port side 5 to 7 feet, and commonly connected with the float (*hama*) by U-shaped withies (*tukituki*). The float is cylindrical; in the smallest canoes it is pointed at both ends, in the larger only at the fore end, the other being truncate. As in Samoa the fore, free part extends well forward, though not quite to a level with the head: the after end, behind its attachment to the boom, is short.

The U type of connective, characteristic particularly of the *bobao*, consists of a pair of tough flexible withies to each boom, each withy bent into a deep bow or U shape, the limbs spread from 8 to 10 inches apart in the *bobao* and about 12 inches or more in the *tuingutu* (fig. 181).

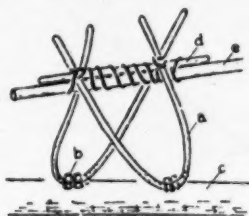


FIGURE 181.—Double U-shaped outrigger attachment, Tonga: each withy (a) lashed at its base to two pegs (b) driven into float (c); horizontal cross bar (d) tied under crossed arms of withies; end of boom (c) then slipped under cross bar and the two lashed together by several turns of cord or sennit (Vavao, 1925).

The bent base of each withy is secured to the upper side of the float by lashing passed around two short, stout pegs driven abreast into the float. One of the pair of withies is attached to the float some inches forward of the axis of its boom, the other at an equal distance on the after side. The pegs to which the withies are lashed project about 2 inches; the heads are slightly swollen.

The limbs of each U are turned obliquely upward, inclining toward those of the opposite pair, with the result that the upper ends of the two withies cross one another. To keep them in position, a short rod of *toa* (*Casuarina*) is inserted as a brace immediately beneath their decussation and lashed thereto in this position. To make connection with a boom, the outer end of this is slipped under the bracing rod and made fast with sennit lashing. [283]

This accessory device is of service when the outrigger frame has to be partially dismantled: all that is necessary is to unlash the braces from the booms; the float with its connectives held together by the braces may then be removed from attachment to the booms without disturbance of the various parts. Reassembly can also be effected in a fraction of the time that otherwise would be necessary. In no other Pacific area does this device exist. 501 [171]

Exceptional forms of float attachment are occasionally found. In Lifuka a very small and roughly made *bobao* was seen in which the connection was by means of paired straight stanchions of the type characteristic of the *tuingutu* (fig. 180, a). Another in the same island had a mixed connection, the after boom having the paired U connection, the forward one the paired stanchion form.

A third attachment is found on the great shallow backwater lagoon in Tongatabu, where there are in use a few rude dugouts of such low freeboard that direct

501 attachment is possible, the outer ends of the two light bamboo booms being lashed directly to the float; such craft are readily improvised when the occasion requires.

Early in the nineteenth century the *bobao* was more carefully constructed, according to the description and figures furnished by Paris (1841, pt. 1, p. 123, pl. 122, figs. 12-14). Unlike the present-day *bobao* the dugout underbody had fairly long end covers roughly sewn on, together with a low washstrake and transverse breakwaters protecting the open waist. The ends were similar and bluntly pointed. Across the washstrakes were lashed the inner ends of three outrigger booms; the outer or end booms were attached to the float by means of two pairs of convergent overcrossed stanchions, and the median one was supported by a single vertical stanchion. No cord brace was employed, if the figure may be trusted. As [565] drawn, the float, like the hull, was pointed at each end (fig. 182). Paris remarks

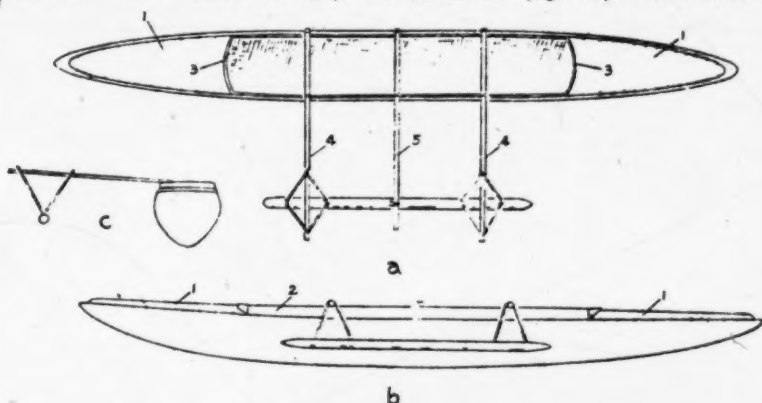


FIGURE 182.—Tongan *bobao* of ancient type: a, plan; b, side view; c, cross section, showing boom tilted upward slightly in its outboard section as in Samoan canoes; 1, end covers; 2, washstrake; 3, curved breakwaters; 4, outer boom attached to float by two pairs of convergent overcrossed stanchions; 5, median boom, connected by one upright stanchion (after D'Urville, 1846).

that the rounded hulls "were neither polished nor rubbed with oil and appeared to be used only by the lower classes of the population". Its length seldom exceeded 5 meters. This old type of *bobao* is intermediate in design between the existing degenerate type and the larger sailing one, the *tuingutu*.

TUINGUTU

The *tuingutu* has also a dugout hull. Being a larger and more valuable craft and adaptable for sailing as well as paddling, greater attention is paid to the finish. (See fig. 183.)

[17] The two ends are more carefully shaped and approximate more closely to the equivalent Samoan form, the *soatau*, the sharp fore end often with a distinct though slight concavity in the cutwater as seen in side view, the stern running to a point, and in a few canoes ending in a downturned subtriangular knob, useful when tying the canoe up, and of exactly the same shape as seen in the better-finished of Samoan canoes. There are the same rounded bottom and [283] tumble-home sides as in the *bobao*, but here a narrow washstrake, 5 to 6 inches wide, is sewn on with sennit, each pair of holes separately sewn and all the holes plugged with wooden pins. A batten of split bamboo is inserted on the outside along the joint under the stitches.

Each end for a length of about 12 inches is solid. The intervening space between each of these solid regions and the near-by boom is usually decked over with transverse planking, the innermost board with a mast hole in the center, an arrangement which permits the canoe to be sailed either end forward; this is associated with a float sharp at each end. The rig in use is, however, derived from a European type; no canoe is now rigged in the manner current at the time of the discovery of the islands. In one canoe a wide triangular platform, nearly equilateral, covers each end of the hull, the lateral angles projecting outboard a little distance; this platform is to give footing to the fisherman when spearing fish. 501 [77] [78]

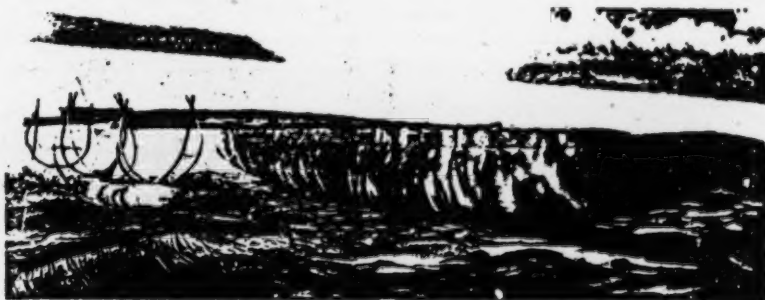


FIGURE 183.—Tongan inshore canoe (*tuingutu*) of Vavao with three booms, each with two pairs of U connectives, typical of the Vavao attachment (photographed in 1925).

In some small canoes the central space or well between the booms is surrounded by a box-like structure consisting of two long side boards, forming rude washstrakes connected at the fore and after ends by a transverse board or breakwater. In the larger ones with three booms, the washstrakes are more typical and extend nearly the whole length of the hull; they are generally closed in at each end by a low transverse breakwater. (See fig. 184.)

Two or three thwart rest loose upon the edges of the dugout hull at its junction with the washstrake.

Most of the smaller canoes, 16 to 18 feet long, are provided with two straight outrigger booms, fitted horizontally, and the larger, ranging from about 20 to 30 feet in length, with three. The booms may either be slender *toa* (*Casuarina*) poles or somewhat stouter bamboos.

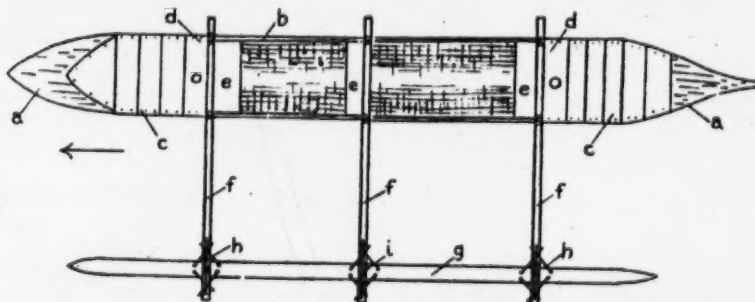


FIGURE 184.—Modern Tongan *tuingutu*: a, solid ends; b, washstrakes; c, cross planking covering space between each outer boom and adjacent solid end of underbody and nailed upon edges of washstrakes; d, mast thwart at each end enabling outrigger to be kept to windward on any course; e, loose paddling thwarts resting on edges of underbody; f, booms; g, float; h, stanchion connectives; i, horizontal rod holding stanchions in position when outrigger is dismantled, when in use lashed upon upper side of boom.

501 [283] They rest upon the edges of the washstrakes, to which they are lashed by sennit or by cord passing through, usually, one hole a little below the gunwale.

The float varies considerably in shape and relative length; in the smaller or paddling canoes it is cylindrical, the fore end conical, the after end truncate; in the larger, which are frequently used under sail, it is roughly canoe-shaped, flat above, rounded below, and with the ends sliced away on each side and from below to a point.

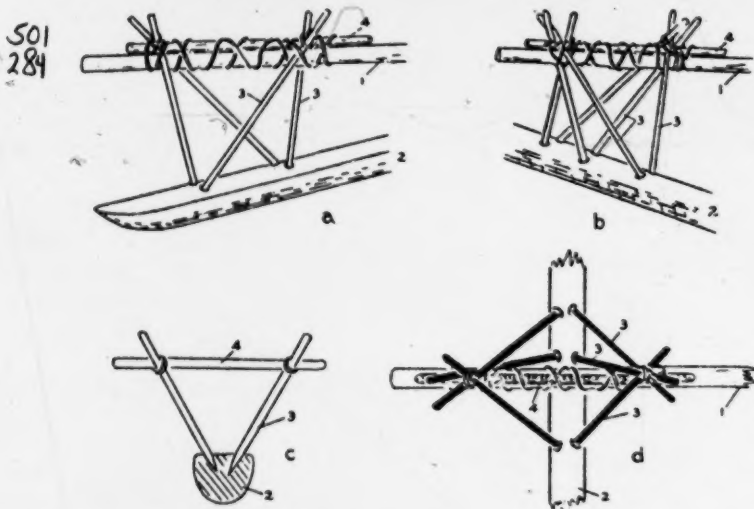


FIGURE 185.—Tongan stanchion attachment: a, two-paired, and b, three-paired form of stanchion attachment; c, attachment separated, float seen in cross section, only one pair of stanchions shown; d, top view of b; 1, boom; 2, float; 3, stanchions; 4, brace rod.

501 [17] The float connection is either of the U type or by means of paired stanchions. The U type is the same as described for the *bobao*; the stanchion type is comparable with the Samoan and Fijian types. Two varieties of the stanchion type exist, the double and treble. The double, except in one detail, is similar to the Fijian, two pairs of obliquely converging stanchions crossing above the boom. The detail in which it differs is the use of an intermediate and horizontal brace stick, about 2 feet long (fig. 185), to which the heads of the stanchions are directly lashed prior to the lashing of the brace in turn to the end of the outrigger boom; this is the same device as that employed in conjunction with the attachment of the U connectives in the *bobao*. In the treble variety an additional pair of stanchions is present; these two extra stanchions, which are inserted close together in the float immediately under one side of the boom, diverge upward from this point in the plane of the long axis of the boom, to which they are respectively lashed at the same points as are the members of the two other pairs (fig. 185).

The largest *tuigutu* (fig. 183) was 30.5 feet long, the beam outside at the gunwale 13 inches, at the bilge 20 inches; depth of dugout hull 15.5 inches; width of washstrake 5.5 inches, a total depth of 21 inches; length of float 16 feet 9 inches; distance of float from gunwale 6 feet; booms three, attached 14.4 inches above the float; arms of U connectives 12 inches apart where lashed to the booms; booms 4

feet 6 inches apart; fore boom 69 inches aft of prow; after boom 75 inches forward of stern. The fore end of the float projected 31 inches in front of the first boom, the after end 18 inches behind the third boom. 501

TAFANGA

Among the most elegant of Pacific outriggers, a few Tongan *tafa'anga* are known to have survived on the windward side (*liku*) of Tongatabu into the present century; in 1925 I saw the outrigger of one that was still in use at a village near the Haamonga trilithon, so the type is not yet extinct. A fine model of one 501 now in the Cambridge Anthropological Museum is of great historical as well as 114 ethnological value, for Thomson, who presented it, states in letters that it was made in 1891 by King George Tubou I when he was over 90, partly with his own hands and partly under his direct supervision. Thompson adds that the king was a great canoe man in his youth, and records (1894, p. 343) that "none could handle a *tafa'anga* laden with fish in a seaway as he". Thompson states that all the old men who saw it declared it to be accurate in every detail, yet an error has crept in, the arms of the U connectives crossing under the boom, an arrangement seen in none of the numerous canoes examined in 1925; in these, as also in Thomson's illustration (1894, p. 343), the arms invariably cross above the boom. The model has every appearance of having had its outrigger parts detached and subsequently reassembled after leaving Tonga; this would account for the discrepancy.

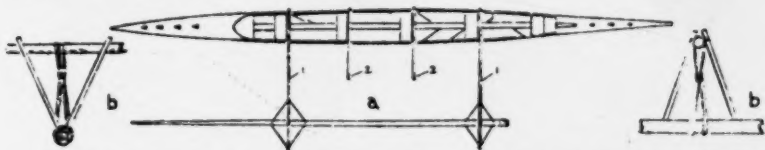


FIGURE 186.—Tongan *tafa'anga*: a, plan showing two functional booms (1) and two accessory ones (2), the bonito-rod rest and the median row of pegs shown somewhat conventionalized; b, details of outrigger attachment, stanchion lashings to boom omitted in original plate (after Paris).

As illustrated by this model, the *tafa'anga* is identical in all respects save the float attachment with the Samoan bonito canoe (*va'a alo*). There is the same long narrow hull, the same long decking at each end, ornamented with a median row of knobs to which snow-white cowry shells are tied as a decoration; the arrangement and number of the booms (two) are identical, as is also the fitting for the great bonito rod behind the aftermost thwart. There is also present a short median accessory boom, a pseudo-boom, not connected with the float. But in the float attachment the paired U type characteristic of the small dugout outriggers of Vavao and Haapai takes the place of the Samoan inserted stanchion type. 501 [17]

It appears, however, that the Samoan type of attachment was formerly employed, for in the figures of a "*tafahanga de Tongatabou*" given by Paris (1841, pl. 122) the details of both the hull and the outrigger are precisely those of the Samoan *va'a alo*; the attachment is identical, consisting as it does of two pairs of obliquely running inserted stanchions and a vertical cord brace passed around the float (fig. 186). In figures of the same type of Tongan vessel given by Cook (1777, pls. 16, 43), attachment is again shown quite distinctly as consisting of [17]

501 inserted stanchions, but the cord brace is omitted. Such evidence indicates that the *tafa'anga* was originally identical with the Samoan *va'a alo* and that the attachment was of the inserted stanchion type; it suggests that the attachment has been modified into the existing U type at a comparatively recent date.

175 It was probably a *tafa'anga* which Tasman, in 1643, saw put off from the land with three men in it. He describes it (1898, p. 26) as a small prow "very narrow, covered in to a good distance in front and abaft". Another canoe 501 (1898, p. 27), seen later, had "the outriggers trimmed with shells and conchs", from which embellishments Tasman judged it to belong to the king or chief of the country. In the same drawing in which a double canoe under sail is the central figure, Tasman gives the figure of a paddling outrigger which is unmistakably a *tafa'anga*; all the features, down to the backwardly inclined bonito rod in position behind the steersman, identify it with certainty. Two booms, the correct number, project from the port side; the attachment of each is by two pairs of stanchions and not by U withies (fig. 190). The only other marked divergences from the existing design, allowing for the crudity of the drawing, are the absence of an accessory pseudo-boom and of the row of knobs down the center of the end deckings. It is worthy of note that Cook also does not show a pseudo-boom in his plan of the same kind of craft figured in his scaled drawings (1777, Atlas, pl. 16), and as some of the canoes met with during his visits were without egg-cowry decoration Tasman's figure may be correct in this omission. The remarkable accuracy of Tasman's details, so far as they are to be seen, goes far to inspire confidence in the artist's delineation of the larger Tongan vessel, the *tongiaki* (double canoe).

Cook had great praise for the Tongan canoe builders. Of his first visit in 1773 he writes (1777, vol. 1, p. 123):

Nothing can be a more demonstrative evidence of their ingenuity than the construction and make of their canoes, which, in point of neatness and workmanship, exceed everything of this kind we saw in this sea. They are built of several pieces sewed together with bandage, in so neat a manner, that on the outside it is difficult to see the joints. All the fastenings are on the inside, and pass through kants or ridges, which are wrought on the edges and ends of the several boards which compose the vessel, for that purpose. They are of two kinds, viz., double and single . . . The single ones [*tafa'anga*] are from 20 to 30 feet long and about 20 or 22 inches broad in the middle; the stern terminates in a point and the head something like the point of a wedge. At each end is a kind of deck, for about one third of the whole length, and open in the middle. In some the middle of the deck is decorated with a row of white shells, stuck on little pegs wrought out of the same piece which composes it. These single canoes have all outriggers, and are sometimes navigated with sails, but more generally with paddles, the blades of which are short, and broadest in the middle.

Cook's figures show the float attachment to be of the stanchion type; no cord brace is present, neither is there a pseudo-boom.

Forster suggests that the islanders took the bonito and albacore as their model in designing the hulls of their canoes, and that the row of pegs along the center of the deckings represents the finlets along the tail of these fishes (1777, vol. 1, p. 461).

A larger *tafa'anga*, the equivalent of the Samoan dolphin canoe, also existed, but the sole record of it is the figure in an aquatint by Webber, Cook's artist on his third voyage. The outrigger canoe in the foreground (fig. 193) has a hull larger but otherwise similar to that of a *tafa'anga* and with a bonito rest conspicuous on the fore part of the after decking. The larger size of the canoe has entailed several notable additions to the *tafa'anga* design; the number of booms is increased to four, a balance spar is added, and mast and sail are carried. The

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booms are attached to the float in the normal way by paired stanchions but there are indications in addition of the use of bracing cords, as lines are shown passing around the float at the places where the stanchions are inserted. Over the outboard region of the four booms is lashed a rude fore and aft staging of planks. From the starboard side a balance spar giving purchase to a shroud projects far outboard, its inner end lashed upon or to the side of the second boom.

Unlike the ordinary *tafa'anga*, this large vessel, which has a crew of four, is fitted for sailing. A mast, short and vertical, is stepped apparently upon or just forward of the first boom. The precise form of the sail can not be determined as it is partially furled by being loosely tied up to the mast by a rope passed around it, midway up; from the masthead run a fore stay to the head of the canoe, a side stay or shroud to the outer end of the balance spar, and another, on the opposite side, to the outer end of the second boom, also a back stay to the stern.

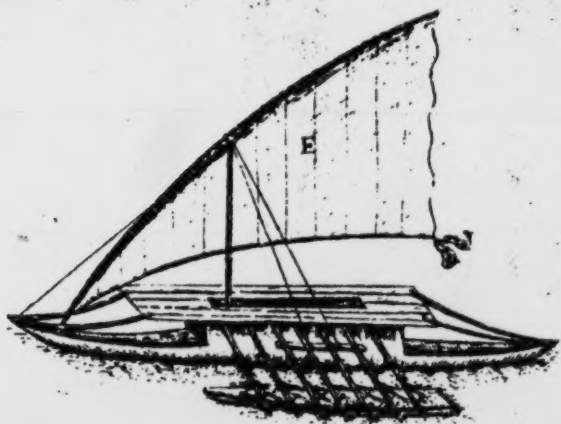


FIGURE 187.—Multiboom canoe seen at Namuka, Tonga, in 1643 (from Tasman, 1898).

A link between the *tafa'anga* as it is known today and the four-boom design drawn by Webber is that figured by Paris (1841, fig. 122) which has two accessory pseudo-booms, equally spaced between the two effective booms. Four paddling thwarts are present in addition to the steersman's seat. (See fig. 186.)

The available evidence points to the early type of *tafa'anga* as a multiboom canoe which by reduction of the median booms both in number and length has evolved into the present design of two effective booms and a median one of a vestigial character.

ANCIENT VOYAGING CANOE

The voyaging outrigger canoes had two forms, an earlier and a later. No description has survived of the earlier type, which was displaced within historic times by a Fijian model. Tasman (1898, fig. 4), however, gives an illustration which depicts a vessel of kindred type to the Fijian *thamakan* but simpler in construction and differing in many important details (fig. 187).

501 The underbody, the hull proper, is without sheer, and is pointed and decked over at each end; in the median section, extending for considerably more than one third the length of the hull, a deep washstrake is fitted on each side, supporting seven athwart beams which project far out on the port side and to a short distance on the starboard side. To their outer ends on the port side a float is attached by pairs of convergent stanchions in the Samoan and Fijian fashion; the float is flat above, round-pointed in front and truncate behind. A wide planked platform is lashed upon the booms where they cross the hull. At both ends it projects beyond its supports, and on each side it also projects outboard some little distance. Two spars at each end connect the pointed end of the hull with each of the adjacent corners of the platform. [17] (In the Fijian *thamakai* there is one only of these connecting spars at each end, both upon the lee side.) No deck fittings are shown. Down the center of the platform a wide continuous hatchway opens into the body of the vessel, exactly similar in position to the long hatch over each hull in the contemporaneous double canoe (*tongiaki*).

The mast is short and vertical, fitted behind the first boom and well forward of the mid-length of the hull; probably it was stepped upon one of the booms. Two shrouds pass on the weather side from below the masthead to a stringer lashed athwart the three median booms a few feet outboard; a forestay runs from the same point to the pointed head. No indication is given of a sheet, and halyards were unnecessary. The sail, triangular in shape, is laced or tied along the fore side to a stout curved yard, the foot being similarly fastened to a boom which is shown in the drawing as somewhat lighter than the yard. Instead of being hoisted by means of a halyard, the yard at about midlength rests in a deep fork at the masthead. [175] This unusual arrangement is confirmed by Cook when describing the rig of the *tongiaki*; it [177] is an arrangement clumsy and dangerous in the extreme and it reflects ill on the ingenuity of the Tongan sailors that they did not find any better way of hoisting their sail until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, when they adopted without modification the highly efficient method used by the Fijians. In Tasman's figure the heel of the yard is stepped on the fore decking between the two spars passing from the prow to the fore corners of the platform.

This type of canoe appears to have borne the same relation to its successor, the *vaka* or *hamatafua*, as the old Tongan double canoe did to the *kalia*; both this canoe and the *tongiaki* represent primitive and unhandy craft that gave place to improved types borrowed without alteration or improvement from the Fijians.

VAKA OR HAMATAFUA

175 A voyaging canoe (*vaka* or *hamatafua*) built after the still-existing Fijian
177 design of the *thamakai* displaced an older and indigenous type soon after the
501 time when intercourse between Tonga and Fiji began to be active in the second half of the eighteenth century. Little information survives regarding its details except a colored figure (D'Urville, Atlas, 1833, pl. 78) and several line drawings (Paris, 1841, pls. 119, 121, fig. 10). The figures by Paris represent what is unmistakably a copy of a finer type of Fijian *thamakai* than any now existing.

The hull remained much the same as in the older type, but the median platform, instead of projecting equally on each side, extended farther over the outrigger framing on the weather side and the long hatchway became two short ones in order to permit the mast to be stepped between them, immediately over the weather gunwale, and exactly amidships (fig. 188). On the weather side of this, partly over the outrigger frame, an elaborate form of thatched hut was erected, with an open stage and railing above its roof to accommodate the chief and his principal officers; various parts of the framework were adorned with egg-cowry shells.

Of the outrigger booms, three only were connected with the float, the attachment being by paired convergent stanchions; the greater number of the booms failed to extend outboard as far as the float, and became accessory booms functioning solely as supports for the deck platform. Spar struts connecting the ends of the hull with the corners of the platform were present only on the lee side as in the *thamakai*.

From the *thamakai* the design differed in only one particular: the two ends were similar and each was brought to a sharp point instead of one end being deep and sharp, to form a vertical cutwater, the other running fine to a small, ovately truncate extremity a few inches in diameter. Whether Paris is correct in showing the ends similar and sharp-pointed can not now be decided. He depicts the Tongan double canoes of the *kalia* design as having similarly sharp-pointed hulls, which is correct neither for the Fijian *thamakai* and *vaka* nor for models of Tongan double canoes found in museums, which agree in this and other details with the

Fijian type. It is, nevertheless, not unreasonable to infer that during the transitional period when the change over in type was taking place, Tongans engaged in building large canoes in the Lau Islands of the Fiji Archipelago may have modified this part of the Fijian design to harmonize with the form of the canoe ends which characterized their older and indigenous model (compare Hodges' figures in Cook, 1777). The rig is typically Fijian.

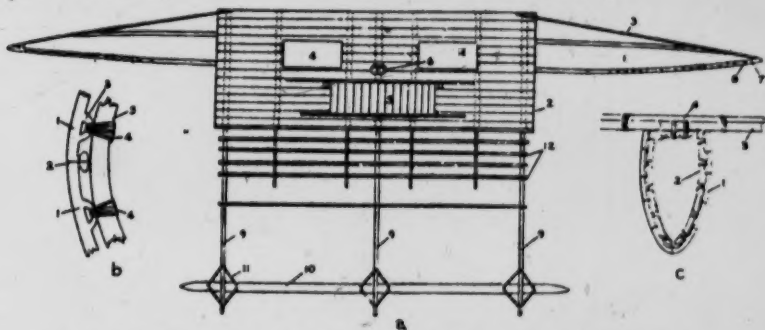


FIGURE 188.—Tongan *raka* or *hamatafua*. a, plan: 1, end cover; 2, deck platform (*rara*); 3, strut between corner of platform and head of canoe; 4, hatchways; 5, deck hut; 6, mast shoe; 7, hole serving as step for heel of yard; 8, vertical hole through which tack of yard is made fast; 9, three main booms; 10, float; 11, paired stanchion connectives; 12, stringers. b, details of attachment of portion of rib to hull: 1, two hull planks joined at seam (2) by projecting flanges lashed together through perforating holes; 3, comb cleat, wrongly shown as vertical instead of horizontal, through which lashings (4) pass to secure it to inserted rib (5). c, cross section of hull showing ribs and their position within hull: 1, planks of hull; 2, inserted rib; 3, outrigger boom; 4, deck planking. (After Paris, 1841.)

Some memory of this type of outrigger canoe is still retained in Tongatabu. The Rev. John Havea, a Tongan pastor well-known for his wide knowledge of native customs, informed me in 1925 that the proper term for this vessel in Tongatabu is *hamatafua*. It was, he said, a single outrigger of large size, rigged with one mast and a large triangular sail, but propelled by sculls in calms and contrary winds. He added that the hull might either be a very large dugout or be built up of planks sewn together in the manner of the *tafo'anga* and *kalia*. It could carry a considerable number of people.

The only reference in literature to this vessel under its rightful name is one by West (1865, p. 271), who relates how a number of the inhabitants of Atata, in order to escape from a raiding party from Namuka, "hastily manned a *hamatafua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island . . . Wind and sea carried them straight upon Ata, the Pylstart's Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony."

The *hamatafua* appears to have lingered on till comparatively recent times, for Mr. L. B. Levin of Nukualofa stated to me that he saw what he believes was the last one in 1883 during a visit to Lafonga in the Haapai Islands.

Although this form of *raka* was copied undoubtedly from the Fijian, it has so many points in common with the older Tongan design that it seems probable that the Fijian was evolved from one akin or similar to this old Tongan one. The presence of a number of accessory booms not connected with the float suggests derivation from a multiboom ancestor such as is seen in Tasman's Tongan figure. The changes in the form of the deck platform and its fittings are also such as would be expected as skill in canoe building advanced, and I am therefore of

501 opinion that this was actually the course of evolution. But this evolution took
177 place in Fiji, and not in Tonga.

[181] It is unquestionable that the Fijians were notably the superiors of the Tongans
and Samoans in the art of canoe designing, although the Tongans could claim the
credit of being the more skilful carpenters and the more daring and experienced
navigators.

U ATTACHMENT

[184] Of the three groups of islands in the Tongan Archipelago, in Vavao the U type
prevails to the virtual exclusion of the stanchion type, probably because there are
no longer any large canoes in use there; in Haapai, it is predominant, whereas in
Tongatabu it is found only in the fishing villages on the south and east coasts; on
the more populous north coast of Tongatabu the stanchion type alone is in use.

501 This distribution might lead to the inference that the U type is of older employ-
171 ment in these islands than the stanchion type. Against this conclusion have to be
placed two facts. The first is that both in the canoe types surviving in Tonga and
in those that have disappeared there is the closest possible affinity with those of
Samoa except in regard to the U attachment, which the Samoans have certainly
never employed since European contact; neither has there ever been any suggestion
that they had it previously. The second fact is that both Tasman and Cook, the
one in 1643 and the other in 1773, figured the stanchion attachment as the one in
use at the time of their visits. So also did D'Urville and Paris. It seems probable
that the Tongans, originally an offshoot from the same stock as the Samoans, had
primitively the Samoan stanchion attachment, subsequently modifying this for use
only in their smaller canoes into the U type, which may be a localized modification
of a pair of stanchions inserted in the float in a Y or V manner, or may be a com-
paratively recent introduction from some non-Polynesian locality. It is a form
of attachment unknown in Polynesia outside of Tonga.

[481] There is evidence that Tongan voyages, usually involuntary, extended to New
Caledonia, and it is known, for example, that Wallis Islanders were drifted to the
Loyalties about the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lambert, 1900, pp.
54-55). Many of these castaways remained there and formed permanent settle-
501 ments in Uvea, Lifu, and other islands, but we may be sure that some returned
177 home, and it may be that in this we have the explanation of the occurrence of
178 the U connective in Tonga.

In New Caledonia the shank of the Y connective in use there is sometimes so
deeply inserted into the float that it becomes reduced to an approximation to the
V type. The Tongan form may have arisen from the substitution of this modified
Y form for two stanchion connectives—the ordinary Tongan attachment. The V
part of the device, increasing in relative importance at the expense of the shank,
might assume eventually its present form, a broad and deep U-shaped section lashed
at the base to two diminutive pegs, the homologues of the original stanchions or
a duplication of the shank of the Y. The introduction of the U connective may
have taken place at a comparatively recent date; there is reason to believe that the
southern New Caledonians adopted the *ndrua* form of double canoe from the Ton-
gans, who did not begin to change over to this design until the latter part of the
eighteenth century, as is learned from the accounts of Cook and others; the sketches
given by Tasman, Cook, and Paris of Tongan canoes, the *tafu'anga* in particular,
all show the connectives as paired stanchions and none make any allusion to the
U form.

Corroboration of the course of evolution above outlined is afforded by the form of attachment seen in a canoe of Mare, in the Loyalty Islands, where, although a Y connective is employed, a very short peg is inserted into the float at each side of the shank of the Y, to which both pegs are lashed. This would appear to represent an intermediate phase between the New Caledonian Y and the Tongan U attachment. 501
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[171]

On the other hand, it is possible that the U attachment was introduced into Tonga by a section of the Indonesoids who were the last-comers into Polynesia. In the extreme eastern islands of Indonesia the U attachment, but in the single U form, is common and occurs in the same Moluccan localities as the *oremбай* and its near relatives. A double U attachment, but undercrossed, occurs along the whole coast of New Britain and in the Witu Islands; in San Cristoval at the south end of the Solomon Islands it recurs and this time in the overcrossed condition. However, in all these instances the U withies are attached to the floor by cord lashings passed around the float itself. I incline to the conclusion that the U attachment seen in Tonga, where the withies are attached to accessory pegs and thereby have indirect attachment, has had a different origin as suggested above. Further, what evidence we have indicates that the U attachment is too recent in Tonga to have been introduced from a comparatively ancient Indonesian source. 501
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The story of Oceania contains many instances of the substitution of new designs for old in canoe details; the islanders are receptive and quick to recognize and adopt any detail in the design of canoes of other islands which by accident or otherwise come under their notice. Instances in point within recent times are the adoption by the Marquesans of a plank connective in place of paired stanchions and the Samoan utilization of the whaleboat design in the construction of their great modern paddling canoe, the *taumualua*, displaced in the present century by the long *fautasi*, rowed by many oars.

DOUBLE CANOES

TONGIAKI

The *tongiaki* was the form of double canoe in use in Tonga till toward the end of the eighteenth century, when the Tongans began to substitute the Fijian *ndrua* (Tongan *kalia*) as a more serviceable and weatherly craft. Fortunately several excellent illustrations of the *tongiaki* and a fairly full description by Cook himself exist. It happened that the change-over of types was beginning when Cook visited the islands in 1773 and 1774; he saw both and has several references to each. 501
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[177]

Schouten (1619, p. 39) came across a *tongiaki* off Tahiti (called by him "Cocos Island") in 1616; it had been drifted out of its course and the crew were in a starving condition:

[The vessel consisted of] two long and handsome canoes connected together but at some distance apart. Along the midships region of each, two broad planks of red wood were secured upon the edges [one on each side]; across these [wash-trakes] small beams were laid [from hull to hull] and over them a platform of planks, the whole carefully fitted and made watertight with all the parts strongly lashed together. Toward the fore part of the starboard hull was stepped a short mast, forked at the top, on which was slung the sail; this was of matting and made after the fashion of those carried by Spanish boats [i.e., the lateen]. . . . Their corlidge was strong and well laid. [See fig. 189.] [284]
[285]
[283]

Two days later they came across two other vessels of the same kind and the chronicler records:

The crew of one of them had aboard their vessel a canoe which they could launch whenever the occasion required. [Compare the Samoan custom of shipping two *ta'u-alo* aboard [171]

175 a *to'a tele*, their equivalent of the *tongiaki*, when going on a fishing excursion toward Uvea.]
 501 ... The rig of these vessels is so excellent and they go so well under sail that there are few
 177 ships in Holland that could overhul them. They steer them by means of two oars at the stern, one for each canoe.

175 Toward the upper end of the sail a figure representing a cock was outlined.
 501 This was evidently a common Tongan custom, for Forster (1777, vol. 1, p. 462),
 285 after remarking that some of these double canoes are large enough to carry 150
 531 men, adds, "Their sails are latine, made of strong mats in which the rude figure
 of a tortoise or a cock, etc., is sometimes represented".



FIGURE 189.—Tongan *tongiaki* seen off Tafahi in 1616 (from Schouten, 1619).

175 Twenty-seven years later, when Tasman discovered the Tongan islands (1643),
 501 this fine double canoe so impressed him that he devoted a whole page of his journal
 to the illustration of one under full sail (1898, fig. 2); another drawing shows
 two of the same kind of craft at anchor. (See fig. 190.)

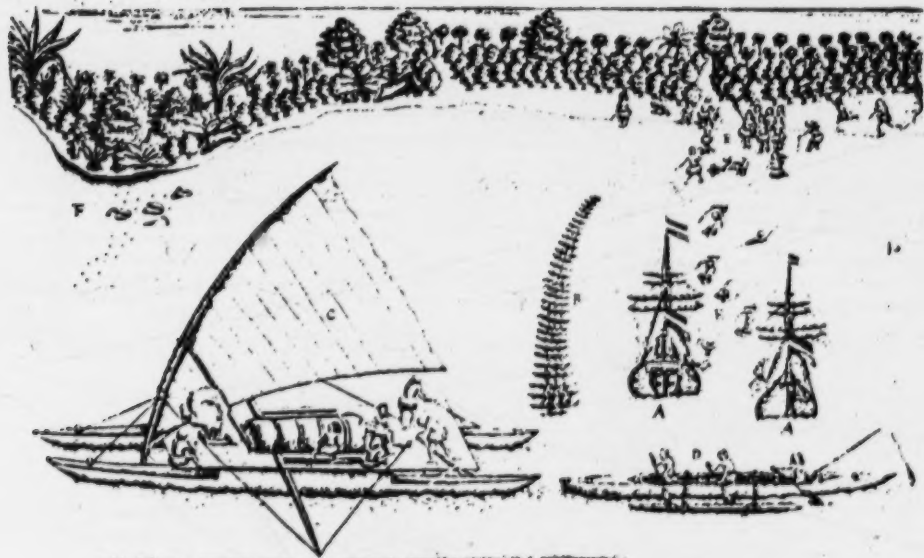


FIGURE 190.—Tongan tongiki seen off Tongatabu in 1643, masthead crutch-shaped, two steering paddles in action: right, honito fishing canoe (*hafa'anga*), fishing rod correctly shown behind almost paddler (after Tasman, 1643).

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175 An equipment not described, but clearly seen in Schouten's and Tasman's figures, is the great balance spar laid athwart the hulls immediately abaft the mast to project outboard on each side. In both these figures the short mast is stepped well forward on the platform and has a crutch-shaped masthead in which the yard rests.

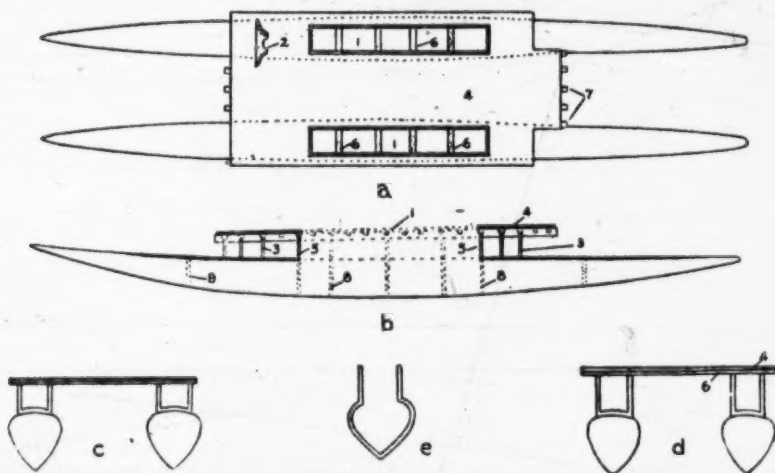


FIGURE 191.—Tongan *tongiaki*, length 69 feet: *a*, plan; *b*, longitudinal section through one hull, vertical dotted lines indicate position of inserted ribs; *c*, cross section through fore end of vessel under fore part of platform; *d*, corresponding section at after end of platform; *e*, cross section of one hull amidships; 1, hatchways; 2, mast shoe; 3, supporting pillars; 4, deck; 5, breakwater to keep water from midships part of hulls; 6, crossbeams supporting deck; 7, fore-and-aft beams under deck (after Cook, 1777).

Cook's description and scaled figures (fig. 191) and the illustrations given by Schouten and Tasman give a clear conception of the build and rig of the *tongiaki*. The two hulls (Cook, 1777, vol. 1, p. 216) were equal in size, "each about 60 or 70 feet long, and from 4 to 5 broad in the middle", the heads pointed and with a slight sheer, the sterns low and bluntly pointed. The bottom of each was sharp along the keel line and the hull in transverse section was distinctly cordate, with sides raised on the edges of the bottom section after the fashion of the *va'a alo* of Samoa and of its local counterpart, the *tafa'anga*, the planks sewn neatly to one another on the inside with stitches passing through a stout beading margining the edges of opposed planks (fig. 188, *b*, 2). The two ends of the open hull thus built were decked over for a considerable distance; the long median section had its sides raised by means of a deep washstrake sewn to the upper edge of the side planking, each end closed in by a transverse board or breakwater.

Two such hulls were connected, 6 to 7 feet asunder, by a number of stout cross beams lashed securely to the upper edges of the four washstrakes. Over these beams (Cook, 1777) and "others supported by stanchions fixed on the bodies of the canoes" was laid a boarded platform of rectangular form. The two extremities projected well beyond the ends of the raised middle section, particularly at the after end, where its longer median part reached nearly to a level with the two

sterns. In Cook's figure the outermost planks on each side are cut off short near the stern, thus forming an angular rest for the great steering paddle (fig. 191). In Tasman's sketch, a steering paddle is seen in operation on the leeward side of each hull at the after end of this platform. 175 501

Above the central section of each hull a long hatch was left open in the platform, wherein one of the crew was kept constantly bailing out the water that entered by the seams. Between these two hatchways a low arched hut thatched with palm leaves was placed for the use of the passengers and "to screen the crew from the sun and weather". A movable fireplace (*talafu*), shown in both Schouten's and Tasman's figures, was always carried—a square, shallow wooden trough filled with stones [and earth] (Cook, 1777, vol. 1, p. 217). [372]

The rig is thus described by Cook (1777, vol. 2, p. 18):

Some [of their sailing vessels], and those of the largest size, are rigged so as to tack about. These have a short but pretty stout mast, which steps on a kind of roller that is fixed to the deck near the fore part. It is made to lean or incline very much forward; the head is forked: on the two points of which the yard rests, as on two pivots, by means of two strong cleats of wood secured to each side of the yard, at about one third its length from the tack or heel, which, when under sail, is confined down between the two canoes by means of two strong ropes, one to and passing through a hole at the head of each canoe; for it must be observed that all the sailing vessels of this sort are double. The tack thus fixed, it is plain that, in changing tacks, the vessels must put about; the sail and the boom on the one tack will be clear of the mast, and on the other it will lie against it, just as a whole mizzen. However, I am not sure if they do not sometimes unlace that part of the sail from the yard which is between the tack and the masthead, and so shift both sail and boom leeward of the mast. The drawings which Mr. Hodges made of these vessels seem to favor this supposition. . . . The outriggers and ropes used for shrouds, etc., are all stout and strong. Indeed, the sail, yard, and boom are all together of such an enormous weight that strength is required. 175 501 502

Cook here makes but bare mention of the long stout spar athwart the deck platform abreast of the mast, which projected outboard on either side to a considerable distance. Cook calls it "the outriggers"; properly it is an outriggered spar or balance spar. Its use was primarily to afford attachment to sundry shrouds and guys. Probably it also subserved the purpose of a spar whereon in heavy weather some hands might be stationed on the weather side as live ballast. Williams (1870, p. 64) describes the two ends as "projecting like monster horns".

Exactly how the rigging was arranged is difficult to determine, for the figures by Schouten, Tasman, and Cook disagree. In that of Schouten a guy, or it may be a spilling line, runs from the outer end of the balance spar on the weather side to a point on the yard well above the masthead; in Tasman's large figure it is attached half-way between the masthead and the tack. A short stay or guy is also shown running from each foredeck to the same point on the yard where it is made fast the balance spar guy; these are the two ropes mentioned by Cook as confining the tack of the sail between the two hulls. In another of Tasman's figures, where some canoes lie at anchor, a shroud runs from the masthead on each side to an end of the balance spar; a backstay from the masthead is also present.

Two of the principal figures in a plate by Hodges, to which Cook refers, though agreeing in many details with Cook's description, do not agree in all (fig. 192):

The double canoe in the center of the plate has no balance spar (Cook's "outrigger"); the mast is stepped to one side of the deck cabin; and the heel of the yard, instead of being confined between the heads of the two hulls, is stepped at the head of the port hull as in the *kalia*; features pertaining to the type of the *kalia* are combined with others belonging to the *toniaki*, so producing a hybrid design. The double canoe on the right in the same plate, although only partly seen, is more typical of the *toniaki* design as described by Cook; it

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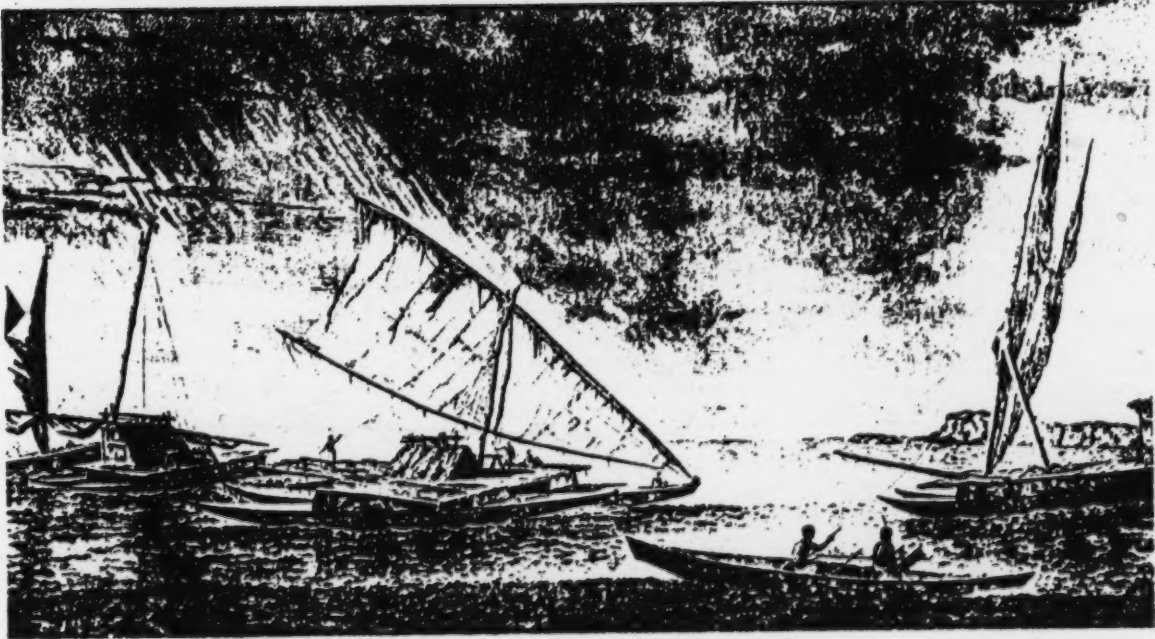


FIGURE 192.—Tongan double canoes; two seem to combine features of the *kalia* with others peculiar to the *tongiaki*; step cleats on after side of mast in canoe at right; in foreground a paddling canoe with stanchion connectives (from Cook, 1777, vol. 2).

shows the deck hut some distance aft of the mast, and the peculiar shoe in which the mast is stepped; a balance spar is present, abreast the mast but projecting only on the port side of the port hull, and a series of small step cleats are shown on the after side of the mast, as well as two broad cleats on opposite sides of the yard at the point where it rests on the forked mast-head—features not present in the central figure. A third double canoe on the left in the drawing, though the hulls and platform are those of the *tongiaki*, has the mast stepped amidships, with deck fittings typical of the *kalia*. 175 501 502

Discrepancies are also seen in the drawing of a double canoe in an aquatint by Webber, who accompanied Cook on his third voyage (fig. 193): 175 501

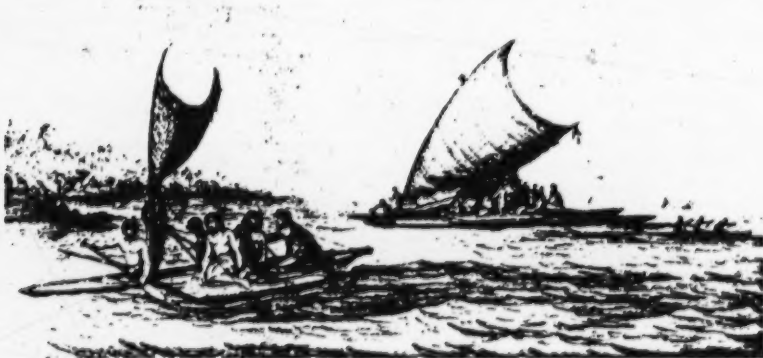


FIGURE 193.—Tongan canoes seen on Cook's third voyage: center, a *tongiaki* having *kalia* features; left, four-boomed sailing outrigger with mast up and sail partly furled against it; balance spar on off-side (aquatint by Webber, published in 1791).

This vessel must be classed as a *tongiaki*, for the hulls are of equal dimensions and are similar in form, with a median row of knobs on each end decking as in the *ta'd'anga*. The platform is not raised on a deep median washstrake as in the *kalia*, and there are no spars connecting the head and stern of one hull with the two lee corners of the platform. Conversely, the sail is slung by halyards from the masthead instead of resting in a fork or crutch and appears to be stepped amidships. No balance spar is shown, and the deck hut appears to have a platform over its roof, all characteristics of the *kalia* design.

It is most unlikely that Hodges and Webber should both by mistake mix up in their drawings the characteristics of the two types. The reasonable explanation of the departures from the *tongiaki* design shown in their figures is that the *kalia* design—a copy of the Fijian *ndrua*—which at the time of Cook's visits was in course of introduction into Tonga, had been adopted in part only by some of the Tongan chiefs; the inference is natural that, at the beginning of the transition phase, certain of the old *tongiaki* hulls were equipped with the rig and deck fittings of the *kalia*. Only by such hypothesis can the discrepancies noted be explained satisfactorily. A parallel is found in Rotuma. [177]

The *tongiaki* required a steering paddle in each hull; Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 91) state that three were sometimes required for these vessels. They remark also that in fine weather one man apiece sufficed but that when it was stormy more were needed. 175 501 502

The principal features wherein the *tongiaki* differed from the *kalia* were: 1, in the approximate equality of the two hulls; 2, in sailing, the same ends were always 175 501

175 directed forward and in consequence the manipulation of the sail was entirely
 501 different; 3, the mast was much shorter and had a forked head in which the yard
 rested, with the tack of the sail confined by ropes between the prows and not
 stepped at the fore end of one hull; 4, the presence of an outrigger balance spar;
 5, the deck platform was relatively larger and extended considerably farther aft
 than in the *kalia*; 6, the deck shelter was a tunnel-shaped hut without a platform
 above the roof.

501 It is common tradition in Tonga today that the *tongiaki* was a notoriously
 difficult and dangerous craft to handle in bad weather and one not able to beat
 [538] to windward. It was essentially a fair-weather vessel, a fact pithily expressed in
 the Tongan proverb, "Takanga a tongiaki", literally, a "*tongiaki's* company", said
 of a fair-weather friend. Collocott and Havea (1922, p. 91) says: "A couple
 of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather, but if a storm sprang
 up neither could rely much on the other for assistance".

501 The clumsiness and lack of weatherly qualities of the *tongiaki* contributed very
 502 largely, if indeed not mainly, to the involuntary colonization by Polynesians of
 [489] several islands well within the Melanesian area. As Thomson (1908, p. 295) re-
 marks, the rig of the vessel enabled it

... to lie close to the wind on one tack, but on the other the sail was broken up into pockets
 by the mast, which held the wind and stopped all headway. Consequently it was the practice
 to wait for a fair wind, and set the sail on what would be the lee of the mast, and if the wind
 [194] changed there was nothing for it but to change the course. It was, no doubt, this fact that
 led to so many Tongans' being cast away on remote islands, and to the mixing of Polynesian
 with Melanesian blood.

501 According to the Prince Consort William Tungi, the huge stones of the Haa-
 502 monga trilithon were quarried at Uvea (Wallis Island) and transported to Tonga-
 tabu on an exceptionally large *tongiaki* built on Uvea for the purpose. Collocott
 and Havea (1922, p. 55) also mention what is probably a variant of the same
 tradition: a double canoe, the "Lomipeau" (erroneously termed a *kalia*), was used
 to convey from Uvea many of the stones required in the building of some of the
 [175] royal supulchral langis on Tongatabu. Another version, recorded by Wilson
 (1799, p. 284), who was in Tongatabu in 1797, though averring that the langi
 stones came from Lifuka in the Haapai Islands, confirms the statement of their
 transport by means of double canoes, according to information which he received
 from the "Futafaihe".

KALIA

175 Like the *'alia* of Samoa, the Tongan *kalia* is in no essential particular different
 177 from the Fijian *ndrua*. In Cook's time, 1773-74, the Tongans had begun to
 501 acquire some of these magnificent craft from the Fijians in substitution for their
 [171] smaller and more primitive form of double canoe, the *tongiaki*. A few years later
 [489] the process was accelerated and Thomson (1908, p. 295) states that "from 1790
 to 1810 it had become the custom of Tongan chiefs to voyage to Fiji in their
 clumsy *tongiaki*, join in the native wars, and take as their portion of the loot
 Fijian *ndrua*, in which they beat back to Tonga; and in a very few years the
tongiaki was extinct".

These *kalia* were also built in the Lau Archipelago of Fiji in later years by
 Tongan carpenters sent there for this purpose by their chiefs. Whether the design
 was modified in minor details is uncertain. Models of the Tongan *kalia* do not
 depart from the Fijian design in any respect, but in the figures given by Paris
 (1841, pls. 118, 121), the ends of both the hulls are shown pointed and similar,

the identical form, indeed, that they had in the older type, the *tongiaki*. Whether Paris' figures are correct in this particular is uncertain: in details his figures sometimes show minor inaccuracies, though as already stated there probably was a transitional period when old *tongiaki* hulls were adapted to the new design borrowed from Fiji. A model which I saw being made in Lifuka in 1925 for the Prince Consort by an old Tongan carpenter had the Fijian form of head and stern, and the builder, who was reputedly 93 years of age and the last survivor of the old carpenters' guild, asserted that such was the normal and correct shape.

Another difference to be noted is that Paris figures the heel of yard as stepped in a hole at the extreme end of the hull (fig. 188, a, 7), instead of lashed against an angular ridge socket not quite so far forward. As Krämer (1902-3, vol. 2, p. 258) shows the heel of the yard in the Samoan *'alia* to be stepped similarly (fig. 171), the probability is that this particular difference in design did exist in Tonga as well as in Samoa.

The double canoe has long been extinct in Tonga, longer indeed than in Samoa, but occasionally, as in Hawaii and Tahiti, two small dugout hulls are temporarily joined together at some few feet apart by two cross booms lashed athwart the gunwales. One of these is seen in a photograph taken from the "Albatross" in 1899, as she lay in Vavao Harbor (U.S. National Museum negative no. 40181). It is noteworthy that the *bobao* hulls are connected head to stern, as in the double canoes of Manihiki.

TECHNICAL TERMS

According to the old carpenter in Lifuka, many of the principal terms for the various parts were common to Fiji and Tonga, either the same or with the substitution of Tongan words for Fijian when these were descriptive. The more important of these in the two languages are the following (Fijian in parentheses):

Fana (vana): mast.
Fohē (vothe): paddle.
Fohē uli (vothe uli): steering paddle.
Fohē-lahi-matau (?): starboard steering paddle; literally the "large right-side paddle".
Fohē-i-hama (?): left side steering paddle.
Fono (vono): strake or run of planking.
Fono tabu (vono tambu): garboard strake.
Fono bajini vaka (vono laulalo): strake above garboard strake (*bajini*, a necklace made of whale's teeth).
Fono ngutu vaka (vono mbati ni wangga): topmost strake (*mbati*, the mouth, i.e. the open well of the hull).
Hania (thama): the smaller hull.

Hua (sua): scull.
Katea (kata): the larger hull.
Kiato (kaso): cross boom.
La (lathe): sail.
Takele (takele): basal or keel region.
Taumua (taumua levu): fore end or decking.
Taumuli (taumua lailai): after end or decking.
Toko (ndeko): poling stick or quant.
Tomotomo (ndomeyomo): topmast.
Tuku (tuku): running fore and back stays of mast, also as a verb, "to slacken" or "to let go".
Vilinga hua (?): sculling hole in platform.

RAFTS

A persistent tradition prevails in Tonga to the effect that in former times rafts were employed in navigation. According to information given by Havea, the name *vakavaka-amci* was applied to this primitive kind of craft. He describes it as a shaped raft with side logs boomed out after the fashion of a double outrigger. He states that his father told him that he had seen a small one made of three logs: the median one was longer than the two lateral ones, which were separated from the median by a space, the whole being kept in position by several poles (*kiato*) laid athwart the three logs and lashed thereto. In larger examples it is said that there was more than one log on each side. Probably if more logs were employed

- 501 the space between the central log and the original two lateral ones would be filled in. The timber used in construction may have been that of the breadfruit tree (*mei*). Havea says that these rafts had some sort of a raised platform on which the crew and passengers sat. They were propelled by paddles, or sometimes by [505] means of a sail. According to some of the old people these rafts were used even for journeys between Tonga and Samoa; they also held that it was by rafts and not by double canoes that the huge sepulchral monoliths required in the building of the royal langis were transported.

The Prince Consort, when discussing this subject with me, confirmed the statement that rafts were formerly in use in Tonga; his grandfather, King George I. had assured him that rafts were the first sea craft used in Tonga. His description, however, was that they were formed out of two great bundles of bamboos held apart and connected by several cross spars (*kiato*).

- [17] Havea's account of this raft, after making due allowance for inaccuracies in detail in a description furnished by a person who had never seen the object he describes, points definitely to the former existence of a Tongan sea craft akin to or possibly identical with the sailing catamaran of Mangareva figured and described by Beechey (1831, vol. 1, p. 105) and closely related to the large river rafts still in active use in Fiji. The specific statement that it was used to maintain intercourse with Samoa is particularly interesting in view of the old Samoan myth, mentioned elsewhere, which claims that rafts were in use there prior to the introduction of canoes.

The variations found in the several accounts make it clear, however, that tradition cannot be relied upon for details; all that can be reasonably certain is that rafts were in use at an early period in the history of these islands and that they were probably employed in interisland communication.

NIEU

- 000 Niue, named "Savage Island" by Cook, owing to the fierce hostility of the natives on the occasion of his landing in 1774, is about 30 miles in circumference. It is relatively populous, for the soil is fertile and flying fishes abound in the sea. Owing to the absence of any lagoon, the fringing reef surrounding it makes it impossible to use canoes of a size larger than can be hauled to land over the reef in rough weather. For what the Niue canoes lack in size, their numbers compensate; on every dark night the torches of little fleets of canoes spangle the sea off the leeward coast with dancing lights.

OUTRIGGER CANOES

Cook (1777) describes the canoes which he saw as

... precisely like those of Amsterdam Island [Tongatabu], with the addition of a little rising on each side of the open part; and [they] had some carving about them, which showed that these people are full as ingenious. Both these islanders and their canoes agree very well with the description M. de Bougainville has given of those he saw off the Isles of Navigators [Samoa], which lie nearly under the same meridian.

The only canoes the islanders now possess are dugout fishing outriggers of small size. The largest, which accommodate four persons (*vaka heke fa*), do not exceed 25 feet in length, with a depth of 18 to 24 inches; the majority, paddled by one man, and with room for not more than two, are much smaller, ranging from 17 to 20 feet long (fig. 194). Formerly six-seated canoes (*vaka heke ono*) were built, but these were rare (Loeb, 1926, p. 91).

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

193
291
501
342
482



[p.12] [p.1 is blank]

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

These dances were performed with admirable skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the body was made with a uniformity and rapidity, which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate. The utmost order and decorum prevailed throughout this festive exhibition of agility and joy : which terminated only with the dawn.

After amusing ourselves for many days, on this Island, and receiving the most friendly attentions from the chiefs, Mulkaamair's son fixed a period for our return ; and a number of canoes assembled to accompany us.

At day-break, we took leave of the old chief, whom we had visited, and his young female relation, whom I had espoused, and sailed off for Tongataboo, which lay at the distance of sixty or seventy miles. The canoes sailed at the rate of six or seven miles in an hour, and brought us to, the shores of Tonga, in the evening ; where we all repaired to our respective districts.

I was charmed on my return, with the flourishing appearance of my plantation. The bread-fruit, cocoa, and plantain trees had already shot forth branches, which promised, ere long, to cast around them a friendly shade. Some bread-fruit trees, almost as large as the oak, had indeed spread their sheltering arms, for years, near the spot where I built my fallow ; and now their fruits hung in clus-

THE KING'S KAVA.

51

here and there between them. A few cable-lengths to the northward of our anchorage was the spot where the privateer Port-au-Prince was treacherously taken by Finau Ulukalala, and on the beach opposite to us the master and crew were murdered. The two rusty iron guns among the ballast in the hold of our schooner are part of her armament. To this event we are indebted for a book of travels that closely approaches 'Robinson Crusoe' in style and surpasses it in interest. Mariner, one of the survivors, spent scarcely four years among the people, yet his account of the Tongans, elicited by questions put to him by Dr Martin, leaves little to be added by later travellers. The book so produced has become a classic: one does not know which most to admire, Mariner's observation and wonderful memory, or Martin's ingenuity, industry, and pure style.¹

As our visit to the king was to be one of state, we had brought with us an old *matabule*, or master of ceremonies, who landed with a root of kava to announce our arrival. We followed him immediately afterwards along the beach to the great native house occupied by the king. Before we reached it we saw the old man coming down from the unfinished church, followed by a train of his *matabules*. We halted until a mat was spread under the shade of some large trees, and his attendants formed a kava-ring, a large oval, with the bowl facing the king. Fatafehi then led me round outside the oval of sitting men, and we took our seats on the king's left, with our *matabule* between us and him. On my left was a white-haired man with very bright eyes, who afterwards proved

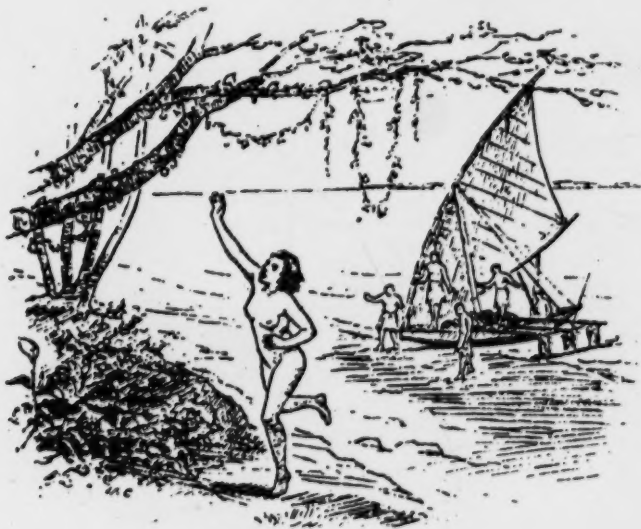
¹ Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands.

296 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

173 then let us return and face the anger of the Tui Tonga,
175 for only the gods could catch fish in this weather."

643 So they sailed to Ata and cast their nets on the lee side
of the island, but could catch nothing. And the chief fish-
erman left the others to roll up the nets and went round
the beach of the island to look to windward. And as he
passed the point he saw a girl bathing, who, seeing him,

●[501]



"She fled swiftly up the sand."

fled swiftly up the sand and was hidden in the trees;
and he wondered greatly, for he knew not that any man
lived on the island, and this girl was the fairest that he
had ever seen. He said nothing to his companions, but
returned to Mua with them, and went into the presence of
the Tui Tonga.

"Where are your fish?" the king asked.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

308 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

508 are known to have settled in Mangaia to the eastward,
175 and in Ongtong Java to the westward,—castaways, per-
484

[501]



The Tongiaki,¹ the canoe, now obsolete, in which the early voyages of the Tongans were made. (From a plate in the British Museum.)

haps, who fought their way into the possession of lands
belonging to the aborigines.

II.

THE COMING OF THE FOREIGNERS.

175 Under a strong central Government, knowing nothing
177 of civil disturbances, never called upon to repel invasions
from without, the people had time to digest the new in-

[177] ¹ Unlike the Fijian canoe, the *Tongiaki* had a fixed bow, and went about like the modern cutter. In tacking, the sail was unlaced from the yards and carried to leeward of the mast. It was entirely displaced by the more complicated *Ndrua* of Fiji about the beginning of this century. Both Schouten and Captain Cook give detailed descriptions, and I have an excellent model built for me under King George's directions.

310 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA. [1616.

175 in Hihifo. At first probably he was the mouthpiece or
643 messenger of the higher chiefs, their Chancellor and per-
petual Prime Minister; but the power was destined to
grow until it overshadowed the dignity of the heaven-
descended Tui Tonga himself.

175 In Ngata's reign the Tongans first heard of a world
177 outside their own. On May 16, 1616, the two high-
609

[501]



The discovery of Niua-tobutabu by Schouten and Lemaire, 1616.

Vide Appendix II. A

(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

pooped Dutch ships of Schouten and Lemaire anchored at Niua-tobutabu. To the fierce inhabitants they were no visitants from the world of spirits, but men like themselves, possessed of property worth seizing. Under colour of selling cocoa-nuts to the crew they tried to carry off a boat; and one of them was shot dead before they would desist. They then made a general attack upon the ship,

A /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/
A

312 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA. [1643.

175 the house of the owner. They saw no weapons and no
177 villages, for the time had not yet come when the alarms
361 of civil war would drive the people together for mutual
411 protection. The age of *Fanongonongo Tokoto* (making pro-
669 clamations while reclining) meant the age of peace and
plenty rather than the age of a crowded population.
Among the presents given to the Tui Tonga was a wooden

[501]



An unprovoked attack by Schouten upon a Tongiaki off Niua, May 1616.

Vide Appendix II.

(Reduced from a rare Dutch plate in the possession of Dr Corney.)

bowl, said to be that which, in the Tui Tonga's absence, was used by his subjects to absolve the *tabu* in the ceremony of *moemoē*. Tasman sailed away, and the Tongans saw no more of the foreigners for 124 years. The priceless iron tools they had given them had long been worn out and disappeared, but the memory of their coming, embalmed by one of the native poets, remained fresh to its smallest details. Four kings had reigned and had been laid in their

A /See p. 402 for further information--Analyst/
A

332 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA. [1800.

175 As soon as the news reached Finau he set sail with all
669 his forces from Haapai, and disembarked at Hahake, the
eastern end of Tongatabu, in order to procure provisions
for his army; but he found that the country had been
utterly laid waste by the enemy. He therefore lost no
175 time in coasting westward. In Hihifo he met an unex-
669 pected check. The enemy had intrenched themselves
725 behind earthworks surmounted with a strong reed fence.
He tried in vain to force the gate, and when his men were
wearied with repeated attacks the enemy rushed out and
put them to flight. They ran for their canoes, and sailed
at once for Haapai. Finau was now driven to revenge
himself by a series of night attacks. He would arrive off
the coast at nightfall, and post men in every road leading
to the fortress. A sudden attack would then be made,
and the enemy, taken by surprise, would rush into the
country for shelter, where they were struck down by the
men in ambush. Before the alarm could spread to the
neighbouring forts Finau's men had re-embarked and were
[50] under sail for Haapai. These expeditions were made in a
single canoe carrying 250 men.

175 The planting season had come and gone, and the con-
669 stant alarms had prevented any provision for the ensuing
731 year from being made. The object of every hostile expe-
dition had been to destroy as much of the crops as pos-
sible. The year 1800 opened, therefore, with a terrible
famine in Tongatabu, while in Haapai the land proved
insufficient to support the large number of men congre-
175 gated there. Each district had thrown up intrenchments,
669 within which the people lived, not daring to resume the
[361] cultivation of their lands. Many were driven to can-
[266]

1807.]

THE REVOLUTION.

337

me: not that I feared death by making you my enemy, but the vengeance of my chief, Tubou-toa, was first to be satisfied, and it was a duty I owed the spirit of my father to preserve my life as long as possible that I might have the satisfaction to see thee thus lie stinking" (dead). He then repeated the blows several times upon his stomach. 175
669
634

In spite of Finau's positive denial of complicity with the murderers of his brother, he did not deceive the chiefs of Vavau. In Haapai, in the centre of Finau's army, they were at a great disadvantage. When the stone was let down upon the tomb of their murdered chief, one of the assassins publicly challenged any of them to single combat; but none of them accepted, preferring to reserve their revenge. They swore allegiance to Finau upon a consecrated bowl, and received his commands to put themselves under the authority of his aunt, Toe-umu; and all, except the late chief's *matabules*, who were kept back by Finau, returned to Vavau. But a fortnight later the news came that Toe-umu herself had declared her independence of Finau, who had so treacherously allowed the death of his brother, her great friend. They had built the largest fortress ever seen in Tonga, and they were prepared to resist Finau to the death. While the preparations for an invasion of Vavau were being made, Finau's son, Moengangongo, and Vuna, the former Governor of Vavau, arrived from Samoa, where they had been absent for some years. One of their canoes, with sixty people on board and all their treasures, was lost in a gale which the other five succeeded in weathering. [725]
[712]

Finau, in obedience to an oracle, first visited Vavau alone to endeavour to make terms with the inhabitants, [501] ● [787]

338 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA. [1808.

175 but they would only consent to listen to him on the
669 condition that he would cut off all communication with
634 Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked
787 his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-
701 canoes, with four carronades and ammunition. The siege
501 lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in
713 obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon
725 their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them.
787 These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pre-
175 tended that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several
634 of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, board,
729 and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for
the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky
canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their
executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning
them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and
the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six,
all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regret-
ting their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

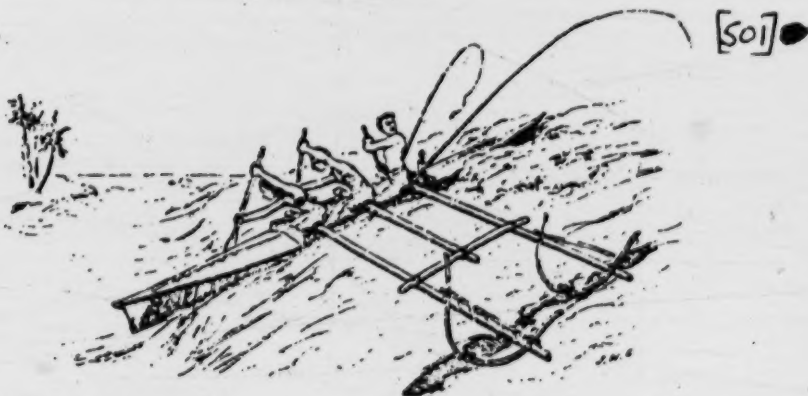
175 In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regard-
634 ing the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the
771 zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well
776 of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity
[643] in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga
seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a
[782] mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He
[643] was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great
annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the
famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to
175 provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His
634 daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was
776
793

1820.]

KING GEORGE.

343

with fish in a seaway as he; none was his match in a fight ¹⁷⁵
to the death. During one of the annual attacks upon ⁶⁴³
Tonga, he had left his comrades near the canoe, and had
gone a little way from the shore. Suddenly he found ^[411]
himself, armed with only a Fijian throwing-club, face to
face with five assailants, who had lain in ambush for him.
His followers were too far off for his voice to reach them,
and he knew that against their long spears his throwing-
club could avail him little. He turned and ran before
them, keeping just out of reach of their weapons, leading



A tafaanga in the surf.

them inland towards a place that he knew of where the
soil gave place to jagged limestone rocks. Little dis-
tressed himself, he ran on until he knew by their labour-
ing breath that his pursuers had begun to tail off. This
was his opportunity. He turned and met the leading
man, and struck him down before he could recover from
his surprise. Seizing the spear that dropped from his
hand, he fell upon the second and third, who, gasping for

[1853]
KING GEORGE.

363

ings which he had so long rejected, and he then made¹⁷⁵
his preparations for the visit he had promised. His fleet⁶⁴³
consisted of thirty sail of double canoes, manned by many⁶⁴⁸
hundreds of warriors. He had no intention of joining in⁷⁹⁷
any of the local wars, but he knew the necessity of being⁷⁰¹
independent of the protection of his host, whose power,
he knew, was not undisputed. From Moturiki he des-
patched a canoe to Ovalau, commanded by Tavake, one
of his own relations. Before the canoe could reach the
shore it was fired upon by the natives, who were at the
time in alliance with Ratu Mara, Thakombau's revolted
brother. Tavake was killed, and the canoe hastened back
to the king with the news. The murderer could not be
captured without a general attack upon Ovalau and a
war with the whites, who sided with Mara, and would
not surrender the murderer to any ally of Thakombau.
King George therefore resolved to join Thakombau in an¹⁷⁵
attack upon the fortress of Kamba on the mainland, where⁶⁴³
the enemy were massed in force. Thakombau's fortunes⁶⁴⁸
were now at the lowest ebb. If he failed in reducing⁷²¹
Kamba, his fate was sealed. His enemies had hemmed
him in; his vassals had revolted; even his own town,
filled with his own relations, was against him, and in
open communication with the enemy. His conversion to
Christianity had alienated many of those who still clung
to him, and his only hope lay in his Tongan allies.

On the 7th of April 1853 the allied armies landed on
the peninsula. A party of Tongans was despatched to
reconnoitre the fort, and they had scarcely left the main
body when news came that they were engaged with the
enemy. The rest of the Tongans advanced to the attack,

[1616]

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL OF SCHOUTEN. 397

When at about half a musket-shot's distance from them our¹⁷⁵
men fired four times at them. Some jumped into the water,¹⁷⁷
one of them with a small child. We hauled one out of the
water, and another was hurt, and had three holes in his back,
but not very deep, for it was hail-shot. In our vessel we secured
two men who had overstayed on board the canoe, they not once
resisting, for in truth they had no arms. One was an old and
grey man, the other was a youth.

Presently the shallop rowed to fetch those that leapt overboard
to save their lives; but they got only two of them that drove
upon one of their oars, and pointed to our men with their hands
to the ground, as much as to say that the rest were drowned.

In the canoe were eight women with three young sucking^[501]
children, and some were about ten years old, so that altogether
there may have been about twenty-five people in the canoe.

Towards evening we put the men aboard again, and they were
much welcomed by their women. We gave them some beads,
which they hung about their necks, and some knives. And to
us they presented two fine mats and two cocoa-nuts, which were
all they had to eat and drink. In fact they had drunk all the
water of the nuts, so that there remained nothing more to them
to drink. We saw them drink salt water out of the sea, and
give it also to their young children to drink, which we thought
to be against nature. They were reddish people, and had^[142]
certain clothes of a yellowish colour which they wore before^[291]
their persons. They were smeared with oil, and the women had^[302]
all short hair, like the men in Holland. The men's hair was
long and frizzed, and very black.

Their vessel was fashioned as shown in the drawing—very¹⁷⁵
remarkable to see—and consisted of two long canoes covered⁵⁰¹
by a good broad table. Along each canoe were laid two wide
planks, about the midship portion, to keep out the water; and
at either end timbers were laid crosswise from the one hull to
the other, securely lashed, and the ends were also decked over
in a watertight fashion. [Further description of mast and steer-¹⁷⁵
¹⁷⁷

[1616]

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL OF SCHOUTEN. 399

breast, and they fled to one of the canoes with sails and tried 175
 to persuade them to attack, but they would not, having been 177
 well used by us. They were very thievish and exceedingly de- [181]
 sirous of iron, trying to draw the bolts out of the ship. They [141]
 were of fine stature, well-proportioned, naked but for an apron. [291]
 Their hair was dressed and frizzed, and some had long hair tied [302]
 up in a knot. They were notable swimmers. Cocos Island [481]
 lies in lat. 16° 10'. [131]

On the 12th, in the morning, trading was reopened. We
 bought 1200 nuts that day; also bananas, *obas* [yams], and some
 water. The ship had eighty-five people all told on board, and
 every one had a dozen nuts. The king of the other island sent [136]
 a canoe with a black wild pig as a present to us. In the after- 175
 noon the chief himself came with a great sailing canoe, fashioned 177
 as has been described heretofore, like an ice-aled, and was ac- 622
 companied by quite thirty-five small canoes. This chief was
 called by his people *Latou*.¹ We received him with drums [534]
 and trumpets, no little to his astonishment, as he had not seen
 or heard these instruments before. Many of the people who [609]
 accompanied this chief kissed our feet, bowing and clapping
 their fists together over their heads, and other strange cere-
 monies, and showed great wonderment at our ship. The chief
 seemed to have good authority over his people. The chief
 himself could not be induced to come on board our ship, but
 his son did.

13th.—In the morning fully forty-five small canoes and an
 armada of twenty-three sailing ones came off towards us to
 trade. The latter had about twenty-five men in each, and the [501]
 former four and five apiece. They wanted us to sail over to
 the other island, and we weighed anchor and proceeded—the
 chief sailing in his canoe abreast of us.

Presently the chief made a signal, and boarded us with great 175
 force, breaking the prow of his canoe, and thereat the rest began 177
 622

¹ *Latou* is still the title of the chief of Niua-tobutabu. Cf. Fijian title 609
Ratu.

175 knives, beads, and nails. We sent four of our men to be hos-
177 tages on shore, and kept some of the people in the ship. These
[481] people were very active, swam and dived with great skill, like
[347] those we met with at the other islands. There were round huts
along the beach, thatched, about 25 feet in circumference, and
12 feet in height, with a doorway. . . .

[276] [The Journal contains the earliest published description of
the drinking of kava, which coincides with the present cere-
mony. Peace was established, visits of ceremony paid, and
[131] cordial relations maintained. These islands lie in $14^{\circ} 56'$, and
were named Hoorensse Lylanden = Hoorn Island or Futuna.]

SUMMARY AS TO THE PLATES REPRODUCED IN THE TEXT.

● [501] Plate on p. 312 shows the meeting with a native canoe at sea,
off the islands they called Cocos (Niua-tobutabu), which lay just
out of sight to their S.W.

[501] Plate on p. 310 shows the islands in question, which they
sighted the morning after meeting with the canoe, but failed to
[131] reach until the following day—i.e., Cocos and Verraders Islands:
lat. $16^{\circ} 10'$. Here the ship's company had a collision with the
natives. The chief's name was *Latou*.

175 Plate on p. 311. This is a plate which represents several sub-
177 jects described in the text all in one picture. The two chiefs
291 are shown twice over, and the large figures on the left are in-
301 troduced to illustrate the descriptions of various forms of head-
302 dress. The trumpeters from the ship are blowing and the
342 drummer beating, the four or five standing figures on the outside
344 of the shed, to the left of the two chiefs sitting under it, are
622 making kava, and the chiefs themselves conversing, all at once.
276 The round or conical huts to the right are introduced merely as
609 types of dwellings.
516
142
137

wanderlust as did the ancient double-boat. The old sea
chants of the Tongan seafarers are now largely replaced by
Christian hymns, but the essential idea of song in connec-
tion with sea travel still remains. 484 178

Although the ancient sailing vessels of the Tongans
have all yielded before the European-type vessels, the small
dugout canoe with outrigger still remains in considerable
force. 501 177 178

The composition of poetry and its chanting or singing
by a chorus of singers is still a very popular pastime. The
composers turn out their product on quite short notice. On
one occasion the writer attended a picnic after the examina-
tion of a great stone vault tomb. The bard in charge of the
singers had composed and taught them a song that fitted
the occasion and referred to the visit to the tomb on the top
of a neighbouring island. 538 533

To a slight extent woman is appearing as the theme in
modern Tongan poems, thus in small measure usurping the
place held by the scenery. This seems to be the result of
English example. The brass band is in some degree crowd-
ing out the native bard. Friday night band concerts by
native musicians are a regular thing in Nukualofa, the
capital of Tonga. 177 538 177 533 [545]

The Tongan government doctors, all Caucasians, have
adopted a practice which conforms with the traditional
ideas of the natives. This practice is supercision, an opera-
tion related to circumcision. When performed by a Euro-
pean doctor, instead of a native, the operation usually takes
place at one of the government hospitals to which the
patient returns periodically for treatment. The operation
in Hebrew style (fakahebelu) is at times requested by the
boys of to-day. 304 177 [743]

Telephones have recently been installed in Nukualofa,
and, though primarily for the use of European residents,
will doubtless in time become adjuncts of the homes of
upper class Tongans. For some years past the Tongans
in the capital have been reading daily wireless dispatches
type-written in Tongan and posted at the post office. 206 177

Motion pictures have entered Tonga and become per-
manently established in Nukualofa, where there are two
theatres. The outward attitude of the Tongan audience
seems about the same as that of an audience in a small
546 177 [571]

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of Euro-²⁶⁴pean dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and the better grades. This is clearly but a transference of their³⁰² old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still freely anoint themselves. ^[178]

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi²⁷³ (foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners must go without. ^[656] ^[565]

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted¹⁷⁷ long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro-^[41]American culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone^[415] pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed^[276] to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various⁴⁹¹ Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of¹⁷⁸ standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle⁴⁹³ is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The^[439] Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance. They are the more numerous in the former island where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving. The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans^[177] are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar⁵⁰¹ for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga. ⁴⁹⁴

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction.³⁴² Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular¹⁷⁷ thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native³⁴⁶ architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails. ¹⁷⁸

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga¹⁷⁷ and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of⁴³⁶ acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent¹⁸⁶ ¹⁷⁸

REEF NAVIGATION.

41

yards of its edge. When we again went on deck, the whole scene was changed as if by some mighty enchantment. 133

The sea was now smooth. The ship's course lay through deep channels formed by numerous ledges of coral reef, over which breakers dashed with the noise of thunder. In these narrow channels the brig had to be tacked several times. The operation was by no means unaccompanied with danger. A slight error in the steerage, a lull of the breeze, or missing stays, as was not improbable with such a dull craft under hand, and we should instantly have been swept upon the edge of the perpendicular reefs, between which the tidal current rolled along at the rate of four miles an hour, and in some places with even greater rapidity. All, however, went well, and just before reaching the most intricate part of the passage a canoe was seen coming from the shore. It lay so low upon the water as to be scarcely discernible. Conscious of this fact, the sole occupant of the tiny vehicle occasionally flourished his paddle in the air to attract attention. Believing him to be a native pilot, a short tack was made to give him time to overtake us; and a few minutes sufficed to bring the canoe alongside. We looked for the first time upon a Friendly Islander, and assuredly the impressions we received were by no means favourable. The man was almost naked. The only article of attire he wore was a thick covering of plaited leaves thrown round his loins; and dripping as he was with water, he really looked as if he had just been floated up from some ocean cavern. Although an old man, he was remarkably nimble in all his movements. A narrow band of native cloth was bound

501
609

291

609
502

797 in having glazed windows and doors; and in being divided, by reed partitions, into the various apartments necessary for an English family. Mr. Thomas [643] informed us of the recent death of the Rev. Francis Wilson at Vavau, and also of the death of Tubou, the King of Tonga, to whom a successor had been appointed in the person of George Taufaaahao, King of Haabai and Vavau.

● 501 On the 20th of June, 1846, the day succeeding our
643 landing, we witnessed the arrival of the royal fleet
541 from the northern islands, to which King George had gone, on a state visit, immediately after his grand inauguration to office in Tonga.

[202] About noon the lively beating of wooden drums, and the ceaseless shouts of the excited people, announced the appearance of the fleet, as we hastened to the beach. Fourteen large canoes were shortly in sight; but the breeze being very light, three hours elapsed before the foremost one reached the offing. We had thus plenty of time to watch all the movements of the strange vessels before us. The peculiar shape of their sails gave one the idea of so many balloons skimming along the surface of the sea. It seemed that [several of the vessels had outsailed that of the king; because, when about two miles from the shore, they severally tacked about, forming two lines between which the royal canoe advanced first to the shore. According to [576] Tonguese etiquette it would have been an unpardonable offence for any vessel of the fleet to have preceded that of the king to the shore.

501 Each of the canoes in sight would carry about one hundred or one hundred and fifty persons, and it may be well, before proceeding further, to describe one of them once for all.

APPEARANCE OF THE CANOES.

49

Undoubtedly the Tonguese stand foremost among the islanders of the Pacific Ocean in maritime ability and enterprise. Their large *kalias*, or double sailing canoes, of which class the fleet before us consisted, are beautifully constructed, and are admirably adapted for all ordinary purposes of native navigation. The *kalia* consists of two separate cigar-shaped compartments or hulls. Perhaps it would be still more correct to say, that in shape they are made to resemble, as closely as possible, the general contour of the spermaceti whale. Each hull is built from forty to ninety feet long. The breadth of beam in each hull amid-ships is from three to five feet, and this gradually diminishes fore and aft, leaving the two extremities exceedingly sharp. The greatest depth of hold is only from four to six feet. The two hulls are joined together at the gunwales by a strong platform of transverse beams and planking, extending about two-thirds of the length of the canoe from the centre, leaving a space longitudinally between the hulls, of from five to twelve feet, according to their size. The planks, of which the several hulls are built, are cut to the required shape, and are flanged on their inner edges. These flanges admit of holes being bored, through which strong lashings of sinnet are passed, and thus the whole structure is bound firmly together without the use of a single nail or bolt of any kind. The platform, or deck, is fastened to the hull in a similar manner; and in the centre a small house is constructed, where the best part of the cargo is deposited, and where a few of the more favoured passengers may find shelter from the sun or rain. None of the Tonguese vessels have more than one mast or sail. The "step" of the mast is firmly fixed upon the

501 deck, and is, in fact, a pivot on which the foot of the mast works, so as to allow it to move in a slanting direction, toward either end of the canoe, when "going about," or according to the setting of the sail. The sail is composed of numerous pieces of light matting, and is in shape, what sailors would call, a shoulder-of-mutton sail. When hoisted, the wide part is uppermost; and when tacking, the sail and the two heavy yards to which it is attached, are lifted, by sheer manual strength, from one end of the canoe to the other. The top of the mast is cut in the form of a crescent, for the purpose of suspending the various ropes required in hoisting the sail. A rude kind of low railing round the edges of the platform, and on the top of the deck-house, is the only protection to the crew and passengers against the chance of being washed overboard, as the canoes have nothing answering to the bulwarks of European ships, and there is no cabin accommodation whatsoever under the deck. Accidents of this sort are very rare; but one remarkable instance may be here given, illustrative of the danger, and of the wonderful expertness and presence of mind which the islanders show when placed in jeopardy. The occurrence took place only a few years since, and was narrated to the writer, by those concerned, as it is here given.

164
501 A canoe was overtaken by a sudden squall, and had to be put before the wind. Whilst scudding along at a prodigious rate, one of the crew was washed from the deck. Such was the fury of the wind and the speed of their progress, the crew could do nothing for their hapless companion, and he was left far behind, apparently to perish in the dark and angry waters. Happily, the canoe

MANNER OF ARRIVAL OR DEPARTURE. 51

was driven straight toward an island, upon which a landing was safely effected in the course of the night. On the following morning, according to custom, the crew assembled to partake of a funeral feast in memory of their lost comrade; but while the repast was still proceeding, to their great amazement the man himself suddenly appeared among them. Incredible as it may seem, he had actually kept himself afloat during the whole of the night, and being carried by the sea and wind in the track of the canoe, he had, as by a miracle, reached the same shore, in time to do what few beside himself have ever done—partake of his own burial feast!

On making the land, as well as in starting upon a voyage, the crew enliven the occasion by chanting, in full chorus, one or other of their pleasing, though monotonous, *Tauaalo*, or sea-songs. When within a short distance of the shore the anchor is dropped, or, failing the possession of an anchor, one of the crew dives overboard with a long pole in his hand, the end of which he either fixes into a crevice of the coral rock, or he bores it into the loose sand; and to it the canoe is moored. A busy scene then takes place. The first operation is that of landing the huge sail. For this purpose a number of the crew jump overboard; and the end of the sail having been laid upon the shoulders of the first man, each in succession takes a part in bearing it aloft above the surface of the water; and thus it is carried safely on shore. If no small canoe be at hand to convey the passengers to the land, each makes for the shore the best way that he can. The common people wade or swim, while the chiefs are carried either upon a broad plank or on the

● 501 shoulders of some of the crew. In this way there
 [565] are few scenes, in Tonguese life, so full of bustle and
 [482] interest as the departure or arrival of a kalia from
 a *folau*, or voyage, of any considerable length.
 Every tongue on board is busy, while on shore
 numbers of excited relatives and friends are wait-
 ing to welcome the visitors, with the warmest ex-
 pressions of love, and with marks of the most
 profuse hospitality.

501 Bearing all the foregoing particulars in remem-
 643 brance, the reader will be able to realize somewhat
 541 of the amazing noise, and excitement, attending the
 arrival and debarcation of the royal fleet of four-
 teen canoes, all of which were covered from stem
 to stern with human beings. Instead, however, of
 the rude *tauualo*, the people, on the different canoes,
 were chanting the spiritual songs of Sion and the
 high praises of Jehovah. The truth was, that the
 islands of Vavau, from whence the fleet had come,
 501 had recently been visited by a remarkable revival
 643 of religion, and numbers on board, including the
 541 king himself, had caught some of the sacred fire.
 533 The effect upon our minds was indescribable, and
 797 it was very evident that a deep impression was also
 made upon the crowds assembled on the beach. As
 the sail of each vessel was lowered, a stanza of some
 well-known hymn or chant was sung; and amidst
 this unwonted burst of religious feeling, the good
 king of the Friendly Islands stepped upon the
 shore. To our thought it was a far more noble
 reception than it would have been if accompanied
 by the loud salutes of cannon or the din of martial
 music. It also spoke volumes for the success of Mis-
 sionary enterprise in the country.

643 As soon as possible we proceeded to have our

FIRST TRIP IN A NATIVE KALIA. 69

in a *kalia*, in time to overtake the brig before its final departure for our own station at Vavau. We were not sorry to part company, even for a few days and nights, with the Egyptian plagues on board the ship. Since coming into the tropics, mosquitoes had added their forces to the legions of beetles already there, and the united venom of these insects made the time spent on board anything but desirable. We were also told that the *kalia* would run the distance to Lifuka in about three hours, whereas it would take the "Triton" nearly the whole day, if not more. 797 (136)

The time for embarkation came. It was our first voyage in a native sea-going canoe; and we were to be honoured by having, as *Eiki vaka*, (ship's captain,) the greatest man in Tugua. The blowing of conch shells, the beating of the *lalis* or great wooden drums, and the shouts of the gathering crew, threw the whole population of Tugua into a fever. And no wonder, for it is doubtful whether they had ever seen so many Europeans on their little sand-bank before; and, then, we had evidently gratified their pride by forsaking the Mission brig for their own swift *kalia*. 797 501 (554)

Once on board, we, too, became excited. Such a jabber of tongues we had never heard before. Up went the huge sail, down went the great steer-oars splashing into the sea, and away we shot like a race-horse. The breeze was strong. Every timber of the canoe creaked again; while the mast bent like a reed, and cracked in its socket as if it would split the deck in two. The whole affair seemed to be grand sport to the natives; but we might be excused, on this our maiden-trip, for taking a firm grasp of a rope, in the expectation that every moment

797 would see the whole concern topple over, or go down
 501 bodily into the fathomless depths. Owing to the
 great rate at which we were going, the sea was like
 a hissing cauldron on either side of our course; and
 the kalia, instead of having time to mount over the
 smaller waves, cut its way right through them. The
 ladies were seated on the thatched roof of the deck-
 house. Suddenly, the canoe lurching heavily to
 leeward, the lashings of the thatch gave way, and,
 but for the quick movements of the crew, who laid
 hold of the occupants, one or more would have been
 thrown headlong into the sea. With the exception
 of this accident, we reached Lifuka safely in about
 three hours, having run a distance of thirty-eight
 miles.

501 There cannot be a doubt that the peculiar
 shape of the Tonguese kalia, and the arrangement
 of its large and single sail, are conducive to the
 attainment of great speed in ordinary weather. But
 in heavy weather and a rough sea, these vessels are
 exceedingly unsafe. They have, however, been
 known to live through severe and long-continued
 storms, chiefly owing to the fact that so long as
 they hold together, and do not upset, they cannot
 possibly sink, owing to the strong platform joining
 the hulls together. They are highly adapted for
 sailing close upon a wind. The formation, and
 position, of the sail enables them to go, at a good
 speed, within even three points of the wind; so that,
 in this particular, they have a wonderful advantage
 over all sailing vessels of European construction.

797 Remaining at Lifuka only so long as was neces-
 sary to land the Missionary stores, an agreeable run
 from thence, of about ninety miles, brought us at
 last to Vavau.

STRANGE MODE OF FISHING.

235

in shore, even with that depth of soundings. But although the weather was fine when we arrived, the very heavy swell put anchoring out of the question. The boat was therefore lowered, and being deeply laden with boxes of books, slates, &c., &c., ourselves, and the native teachers, with the boat's crew, we made for the shore.

A strange sight here presented itself, for which we were quite unprepared. About thirty men were observed in different parts of the sea, at distances ranging from one to two hundred yards from the shore, each carrying a short bamboo cane with a fishing-line attached, and a *finaki*, or fish-basket. They had no canoes, but were swimming, or standing as one does when treading water, pursuing their avocation. Each man had a kind of life-buoy, made of several large joints of bamboo, from which he received partial support, and to which also his various fishing-lines were attached. These he drew up, from time to time, and deposited the spoil, if any, in the basket slung over his shoulders. Such is the rugged and dangerous nature of the coast, that it is only on very rare occasions that canoes can be launched for fishing purposes, and therefore the mode described above is regularly practised. The fishermen appeared to be at perfect ease in the briny element; and, as our boat passed along, they tendered us the usual salute, and then, hauling up their lines, they swam toward the shore to assist in the dangerous process of our own landing. We were directed, by natives waiting on the rocks for our arrival, to a spot where there was a narrow but flat ledge, to which our crew pulled straight ahead. When within a few yards of the shore, a number of men sprang into

[Niua Foa]

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[415][501]
[481][133]
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[226]

AMONG THE REEFS.

373

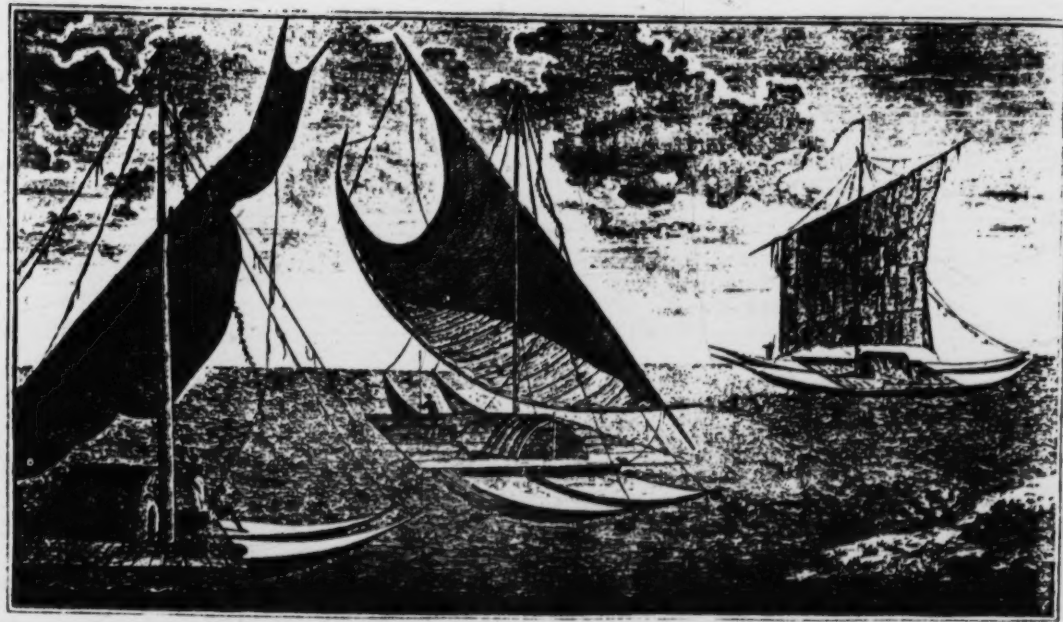
each being met separately. This over, I obtained 797
 an interval for refreshment, and then preached,
 until a little after the sun had set gloriously
 in the western sky. Even his last departing rays
 fell brightly over the sweep of ocean full in view of
 the congregation, giving peculiar beauty and solemnity
 to the scene. After service, returned to Uihā,
 where I held an evening prayer-meeting, at which
 a numerous company was present.

Monday, 4th.—Assembled the children's school
 at sunrise, and examined the little ones in reading,
 writing, and arithmetic. Very small advance has
 been made, as yet, in the two latter branches.
 After this, married several couples. Breakfast
 over, met the members of Society. There being no
 fewer than twenty classes, I was occupied in this
 duty until one o'clock P.M. At half past one P.M.
 sailed to Felemea, where I examined the children's
 school, and then departed for Lifuka at four
 P.M. The wind, however, was strong, and against
 us. We did not, therefore, get even to the nearest
 point of Lifuka, until about ten P.M. We were
 threading our way among the most dangerous reefs
 during about four hours in the dark.

Tuesday, 5th.—A fleet of eight large *kalias* has
 arrived from Vavau, and seven more are yet to
 come. These, with a fleet of the same description
 from Haabai, are on the way to Tongatabu, carrying
 the voyagers to the marriage of King
 George's adopted daughter to Tugi, the chief of
 Mua, who was converted to Christianity twelve
 months ago.

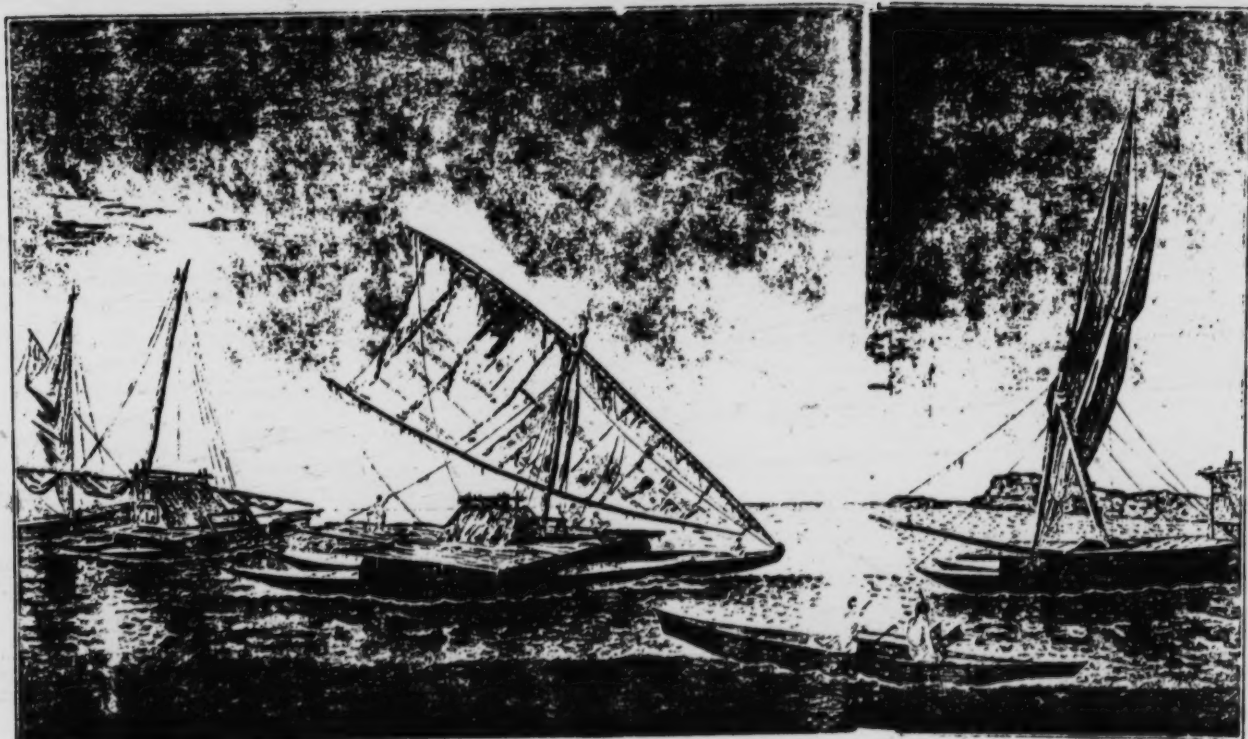
13th.—The Rev. George Daniel, with Mrs.
 Daniel, and their two children, embarked this
 morning at Foa, in a small schooner of nineteen

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 [505]



BOATS of *the* FRIENDLY ISLES.

vi



Artistic skill and astronomical expertise went into building and navigating canoes of the early Tongans, who were among the greatest Polynesian seafarers. Depicted here are some of the vessels used around 1773. Larger war canoes, capable of carrying up to 200 men, had previously allowed Tonga to extend her domain to Samoa, the Wallis and Tokelau Islands, Fiji, and elsewhere.

Ko he n'ihini 'o e ngahi kaka na'e fefotu'aki ai e kau kaiva'i 'i he taimi 'o Kapiteni Kuki. Ko e ngaue kafakafa mo masani foki na'e fai 'i hono lango e ngahi fu'u kaka taumu'a ua ni, pea na'e tu'ukimu'a taha foki 'i Polinisia kotos e folautahi 'a e kau kaiva'i Tonga. Ne a'u ki he toko 200 e uta 'e e ngahi fu'u vaka tau 'e n'ihini, pea lava ai ke a'u lelei e kau tau 'a Tonja 'o ikuna 'a Ha'ama, 'Uvea, 'Otu Tokelau, Fisi, mo e fefu'u kehekake.

173 origins, Polynesians came to populate the islands, and they created their own explanation of how their islands had come to be. According to Tongan legend, the great god Maui went fishing one day and pulled up the various Tonga Islands with a fishhook which he had obtained from a Samoan named Tonga Fusifonua.

173 No matter to which theory one gives credence, for each has its beauty, the 150 Tonga Islands today adorn the surface of the vast Pacific as sparkling specks of greenness scattered among shades of magnificent blue ocean.

174 But where did the Tongans come from? There has been much speculation about Polynesian migrations. Some historians and anthropologists say that the Polynesians migrated from New Zealand or America, others say that they came directly from Melanesia, and still others contend that they are from a "fatherland" in the Pacific which no longer exists. The most popular theory, however, is that the first Polynesians migrated from southeastern Asia or the area of Indonesia around the 4th or 5th century B.C., landed at certain centers of settlement (such as Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga), and dispersed periodically from there.

Imagine what courageous people the early Polynesians must have been to have embarked upon the seas in their long colonizing journeys and traveled without navigating instruments to distant islands thousands of miles away. With tremendous faith in the gods, they essentially pitted their vessels against the unpredictable elements of nature. By means of a highly sophisticated knowledge of astronomy, they navigated during the day by the sun, wind and swell of the ocean, and at night by the stars—many of which they named and could locate in the sky at any different time of the year; otherwise, when the heavenly bodies were obscured, the mariners directed their courses according to the wind and ocean currents. Indeed, they rightly merit the reputation which they have gained as being outstanding, intrepid voyagers and navigators.

174
501 Their main sea-going vessels for the lengthy ocean voyages were double canoes of considerable size and

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501



In the days of the large Tongan double canoes, hangars or canoe huts such as the one pictured here were used for storing, repairing or constructing the magnificent double canoes near the seashore. The particular canoe hut in this engraving, which was done in 1827 during the visit to Tonga of the famous French explorer, Dumont d'Urville, sheltered the war-canoe of the chief Palu in Mu'a, Tongatapu.

Ko e ange eni e fa'ahinga fale 'a ia na'e tauhi ai e ngaahi fu'u kalia taumu'a ua. Na'e hoko e ngaahi fale ni ko ha tau'anga kalia, pee toe fai foki ai mo hoko langa mo e monomono 'o e ngaahi vaka ni. Ko ha ta fakatata eni 'o e vaka 'o e 'eiki mai Mu'a ko Palu, 'a ia na'e fai he ta'u 1827 lolotonga e 'a'hi mai ki Tonga 'a e tangata folautahi Falanise ko ia ko Dumont d'Urville.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

- 501 splendid design. Among the most daring Polynesian
[1974] seamen were the Tongans, whose huge double
canoes were called *kalia*.^A Each of these
double-hulled sailing vessels, stabilized by broad
cross beams, supported a house-type shelter on its
deck and was capable of carrying up to 200 people
plus provisions. The *tongiaki*, another type of
Tongan double canoe of smaller size, was used for
local journeys.

[996] In the construction of the double canoes, the lack
of nails was more than compensated for by the
lashing with coconut fiber sennit, which was done
with extraordinary precision and skill; in addition,

[P. 5-A]

A [See category 501, pp. vi and 2--Analyst]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

- 501 the strong sails made from woven pandanus leaf
396 mats allowed the double canoes to be propelled at
[349] incredible speeds. For protection from the weather
[348] when not in use, or when being repaired between
trips, the grandiose double canoes of Tonga were
501 pulled ashore into large canoe huts^A. Shorter,
484 inter-island trips were made in outrigger canoes,
popao, which are the only one of the original vessels
[178] to have remained up to the present day. However,
with the introduction of modern boats, the *popao*
have been somewhat modified in style and are used
today mainly in the outer islands of Tonga only for
fishing or traveling short distances.

[p. 5-B]

A [See category 343, p. 4--Analyst]

More modern sea-going vessels, including a government inter-island ferry and freighters, have replaced the early double canoes. This 1952 photo shows a sloop bringing a mother and her sick child from the island of Tafahi to a little hospital on Niutoputapu in northern Tonga.

Kuo tahi eni he taimi ni e ngashi vaka lalahi fakamisini 'oku ngaue'aki 'i Tonga, pea 'ikai toe ngaue'aki ai e ngashi fu'u kalia taumu'a ua 'o ono'aho. Ko e ta eni na'e fai he 1952 'o ha vaka fa lolotonga 'a 'ene 'ave ha fine'eiki mo 'ene 'i' ramasi'i valevale na'e puke ki he falemahaki 'i Niutoputapu.

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178
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368

[p.6]



39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

532 evidence of idolatry and heathenism. Whereas wood
177 carving had been done previously with adzes or tools
made of shell or tooth, local artisans became
attracted to the more highly perfected metal
instruments of the foreigners. Strongly influenced
by materialism and other characteristics of western
civilization, the Tongans abandoned the majority of
their former artistic activities, and consequently, the
entire realm of Tongan art has suffered. For the
most part, only the arts of women (e.g. tapa making,
basket and mat weaving) have survived up to the
present day in Tonga.⁷

341 Tongan architecture has obviously been
342 influenced by contact with the west; rafter lashing
177 with hand-braided sennit is rarely to be seen any
283 more, and it is not uncommon to find Tongan
284 houses today with corrugated iron roofs.
411 Hand-carved war clubs and other weapons, as well as
the skillfully-designed double canoes, have been

[P.16-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

411 replaced by more modern means of warfare and
transportation.

• 501
177 Of course, the coming of the westerners should
177 not be seen only in a negative light, for with western
civilization came the written word, the
establishment of an educational system, and the
opportunities (and challenges) for Tonga to keep up
with trends in world affairs in order to maintain her
independence and honor as a nation. Hopefully, in
time, Tonga will experience a revival of the elements
of creativity and aesthetic activity which have been
gravely stifled by the encroaching technological
world for the past two centuries. Such an artistic
renaissance, in stimulating creative instincts and in
bringing to life latent talent and artistic energy,
would serve to reaffirm Tonga's cultural pride and
self-respect in our rapidly changing and synthesizing
world.

[p. 16-B]

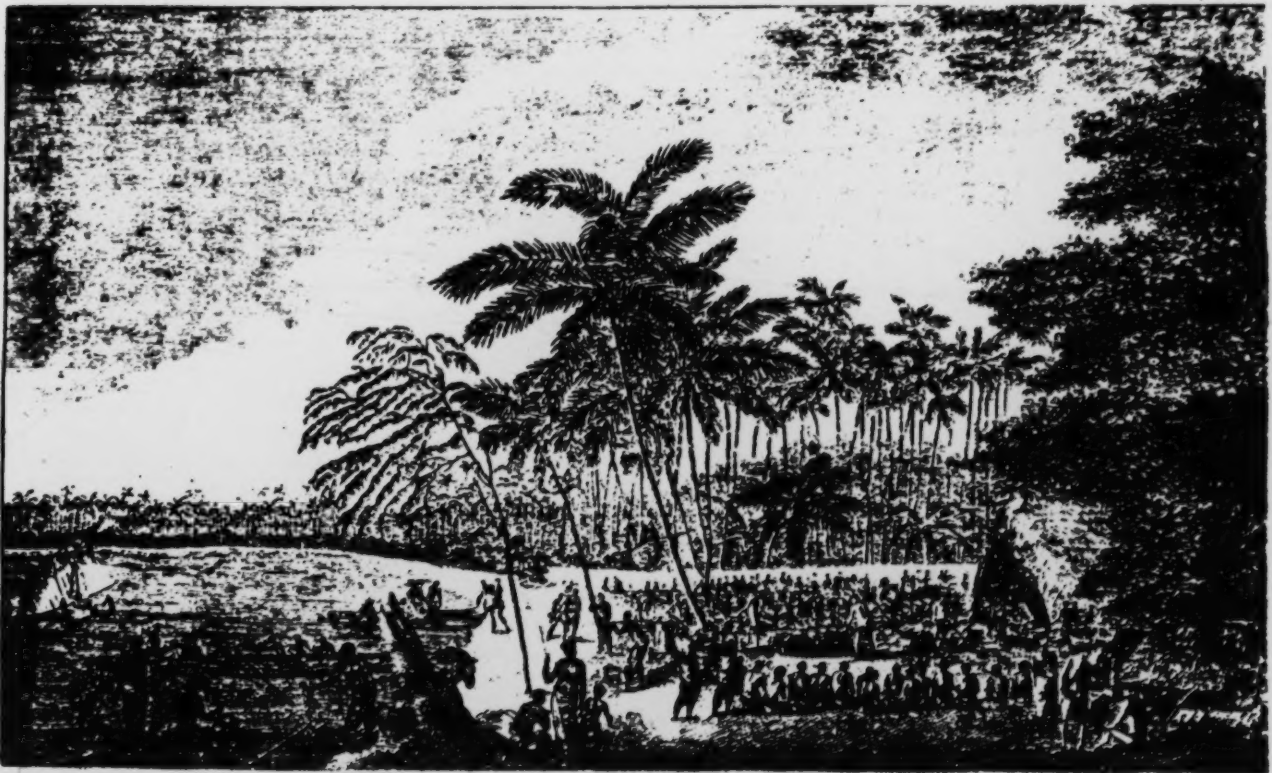


Early engraving of a langi. The house on top was for the major *matapule* to dwell in while presiding over the extensive burial and mourning ceremonies of the *Tu'i Tonga*. Such remarkable stone structures represented the epitome of Tongan architectural skill and socio-political organization, however, in general, structures were more complicated in style and function in central Polynesia (e.g. Society Islands, where altars for worship and human sacrifice, god houses, temples, and other sacred enclosures or *marae* were more elaborate). The art of stone masonry probably came to Tonga from Fiji, as did the design for the Tongan *kalia* or double canoes; however, the Tongans were characteristically quick to adopt and expand upon new ideas, so they soon became more highly developed than the Fijians in stone work.

Ko e ta fakatata mei 'o ha langi 'i ono'ono.
Ko e fale e 'o e kau ha'a tufunga 'i he
funga langi lototonga 'eneu ngaahi ngaue
'i hono talio 'o e Tu'i Tonga. Neongo na'e
faka'oto'oto 'a hono langa e ngaahi langi
'i Tonga, na'e toe fu'u mavave atu 'a
hono fai e langa 'aki e maka 'i he ngaahi
feitu'u kafekehe 'i Polinisia. 'Oku pehe
na'e ma'u 'a Tonga mei Fisi 'a e fa'ahinga
ngaue ni, ka na'e 'ikai fuoloa kuo
fakaleka 'a Tonga ia 'i Fisi 'i he fa'ahinga
langi ni.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OUG Tonga OUG

193
501



[P.39-A]

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- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 10. A small child. | 13. Tomb in memory of the chief |
| 11. Tongamana, grandfather of the | Telea, who was lost at sea. |
| chief Havea; also the chief Tu'i. | 14. Finau, a chief who met Cook. |
| 12. Grandmother of the chief Havea. | 15. The chief Tafao. |

Oku pehe ko e ngaahi telio'anga eni, 'o fakatatau ki he ngaahi fakamatala na'e ma'u 'e he kau folau : Dumont d'Urville:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Tu'i Tonga ko Fatafehi. | 9. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa. |
| 2. Kau tu'i 'e toko nima. | 10. Tamasi'i pe ta'ahine. |
| 3. Tu'i mo e kuini. | 11. Tongamana, 'a e Kui 'a e 'eiki ko |
| 4. Tamasi'i pe ta'ahine. | ia ko Havea. |
| 5. Tu'i. | 12. Kui fefine 'a Havea. |
| 6. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa. | 13. Mala'e fakamanatu 'o e 'eiki ko |
| 7. Tu'i. | Telea 'a ia na'e mole 'i tahi. |
| 8. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa, kau ai 'a | 14. Finau, 'a e 'eiki na'e fakafe'iloaki |
| Tu'ipulotu mo Fatafehi. | kia Kapiteni Kuki |
| | 15. 'Eiki ko Tafao. |

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Bottom: "Tronc d'Arbre, de 100 pieds de circonference, pres de Moua." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 75 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"*...

32 [Langi] Betw. pp. 46 & 47 in Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*.

34 Top: "Tombeau de Pangai a Hifo." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 86 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"*

34 Bottom: "Tombeau d'un Chef." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 95 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"*...

35 "Portrait of Otago, or Attago, a Chief at Amsterdam." Artist: Wm. Hodges. Plate 49, facing p. 141 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection*...

36 "George Tubou, King of the Friendly Islands." Frontispiece in Rev. Thomas West, *Ten Years*...

38 "The Reception of Capt. Cook, in Hapaee." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 46, facing p. 450 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection*...

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39 "A View at Anamooka." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 29, facing p. 447 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection*...

40 "Consultation a l'Esprit pour un enfant malade." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 77 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas-Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"*...

54: Cook G.T-5 (1777) 1967

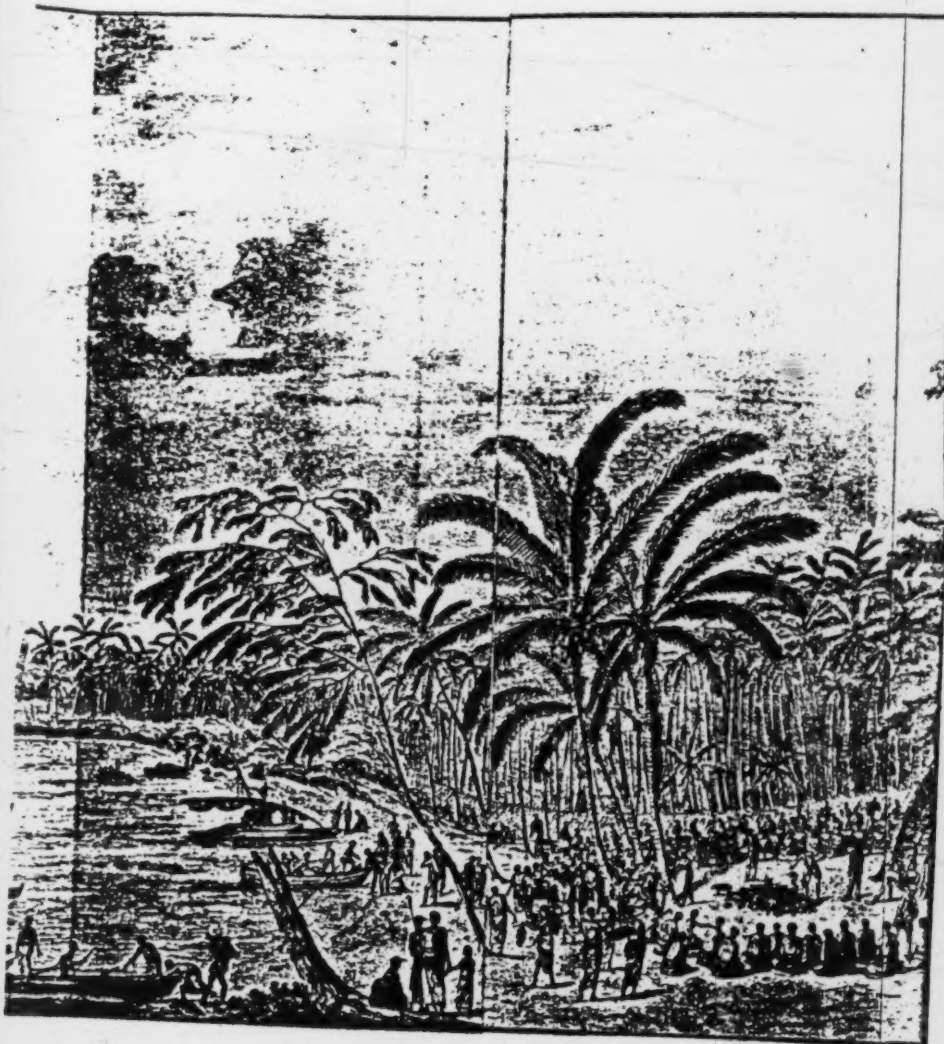
OU9 Tonga OU9



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[facing p. 96-A]

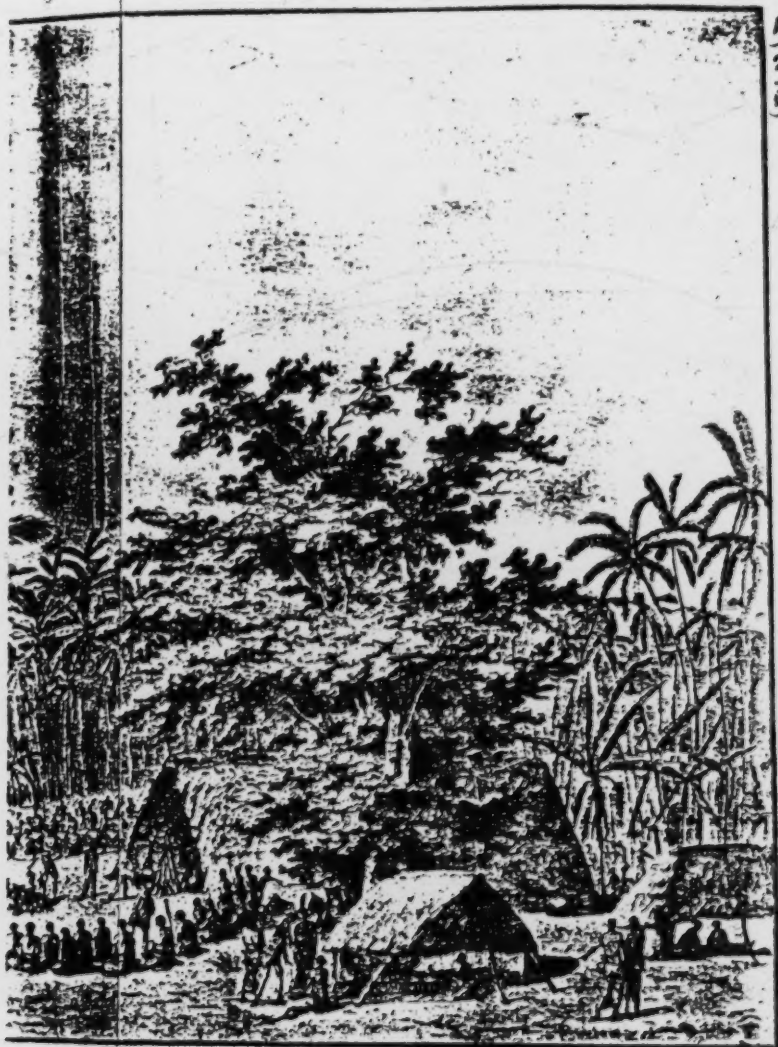
501
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PL. 15. Annamocka (Nomuka) harbour

Drawing by Webber.—B.M., Add. MS 15513.7

[facing p. 96-B]



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504

[Facing p. 96-C]

1777]

STEERING FOR TONGATAPU

[121

the circle increased pretty fast. At length Feenough came and took his seat amongst the rest, some little conversation passed between these two Cheifs which none of us understood, nor was we satisfied with Omai's interpretation of it,¹ we were however by this time fully satisfied who was the greater man of the two. I took them both aboard to dinner but only Fattafee sat at table, Feenough made his Obiesance in the usual way and retired out of the Cabbin; this confirmed what the King had before told us, that Feenough could neither eat nor drink in his presence.²

SUNDAY 8th. At 8 oclock the next Morning we wieghed and steered for Tongataba having a gentle breeze at NE and about fourteen or fifteen sailing vessels in company every one of which considerably outrun us.³ Feenough was to have taken a passage with us in the Ship but prefered his own Canoe and put two men on board to conduct us to the best anchorage. We steered sbw by compass the Course the Canoes steered; at 5 oclock in the evening we saw two small islands bearing west about 4 leagues distant. Our pilots called the one Hunga happi and the other Hunga Tonga;⁴ they lay in the Latitude of 20°36' and 10 or 11 leagues from the west point of Anamocka in the direction of [s 46° West].⁵ We continued the same Course till 2 AM the next morning, when seeing some lights ahead and not knowing whither they were on shore or on board the Canoes, we hauled the Wind and made a short trip each way till day-break, when we resumed our course to the sbw. And presently after saw several small islands a head and Middleburg and Tongatabu beyond them; the depth of water at this time was 25 fathom over a bottom of broken coral and sand. The depth of water gradually decreased as we drew near the isles which lie ranged along the NE side of Tongatabu. By the direction of our Pilots we steered for the middle of the island and for the widest space between the small islands with our boats ahead

¹ 'Omai was still too much hurt at having taken a name that was not the highest, to interpret faithfully. . . . '—King.

² No inferior could eat or drink in the presence of his superior. We have in another entry for this date a little sign of shipboard friction which is interesting: 'I went on Shore with my Astronomical Quad^t & the watch & observed equal altitudes of the Sun in order to determin its Error from mean time; & returned on board again in the Evening very safe, with the watch,—(after the most eminent Danger, & Difficulty of preserving the watch, owing [to] the Pride & obstinacy of our First Lieut^t M^r Burney.)'—Bayly T. Burney may have been rather a trial to Bayly (cf. II, p. 155, n.), and perhaps Bayly was a bit too solemnly professional for Burney.

³ 'These Canoes rund us nearly out of sight before the evening, they sail about 3 Miles to our two, in light winds. They carry about 50 People (& their luggage) in general. But are capable of carryin[g] as many more.'—Bayly T.

⁴ Hunga Ha'apai and Hunga Tonga, both high islands, about a mile apart. *Hunga*: 'turned towards'. They are about 31 miles northward of Niu Aunofu, the most northerly point of Tongatapu. Cook's course lay well to the east of them.

⁵ These figures are a later insertion in the MS, probably by King.

1777]

NOMUKA

[863

some orders were issued out by the Captain to prohibit every person from purchasing any thing but provisions, and also appointed proper people for that purpose. While working up towards the island in the day we had from 41 to 49 fathom with a bottom of broken shells and black sand.

[MAY 1777]

THURSDAY MAY 1st. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy weather and some showers of rain. Early in the morning the Master was sent in the Cutter to examine the SE part¹ of the island and in the forenoon returnd with an account of there being good anchoring and landing, but there was no water near except a small stagnant Pool and a few holes dug in the sand which had both a very indifferent sort. In the mean time we had weighd and work'd close in shore, but determin'd now to reach the anchoring place which Captⁿ Cook had occupy'd when at this island in 1774, which though at a small distance took us till four in the afternoon before we got up, which was occasion'd by a tide or current that seem'd to set right off shore. We anchor'd in 114 fathom a sandy bottom not a mile from the shore on the NNW part of the Island. Soon after day light several Canoes came off and at one time we had near forty about the ship, besides two large sailing Canoes that carry'd between forty and fifty men each. We purchas'd a great quantity of vegetables and in particular had more bread fruit than we could use, and several hogs & fowls in the same manner as on the preceding days, but were oblig'd to punish one of our people who already infring'd the articles made to regulate our bartering. There were several women in the Canoes that came off to day who were perhaps incited by curiosity to visit us, though at the same time they barterd as eagerly as the men and us'd the paddle with equal labour and dexterity. The Discovery anchor'd a little before us though once far to leeward.

FRIDAY MAY 2^d. The wind E or Ebs with cloudy weather and some showers of rain. In the morning we hoisted out the Launch and other boats and in the forenoon the Captain went on shore and agreed with the natives for the use of a hut or shed to serve as a tent and also for procuring water. In the afternoon the horses were sent on shore and at the same time a party of marines under the command of Mr King, who kept gaurd in the shade for the protection of the horses and waterers. To strengthen our party some were sent from the Discovery, and a signal agreed on between that ship and those on shore

¹ Cook says 'to Sound the sw side'.

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[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[May

114] which is the small isle next to it, that we might go in a direct course for Anna'mooka and found it safe as far as he went.

311 On a report of the Indians that Hoolaiva though almost as large
[225] as Lai'fooga was neither inhabited nor cultivated I went on shore to
[226] see it, and found their account true, for there is neither the least mark of culture or habitation upon it except one hut where a person resides to catch fish and Turtle. It is rather uncommon that it should be in this situation when that next to it is so perfectly cultivated and the inhabitants can walk from one to the other at low water, for though the soil is quite sandy and there is not good water upon it why might not the Cocoa palms, an article so usefull here (and which thrive in the midst of sand), be planted or indeed other articles, for it produces all the trees and plants found in a natural state on the other islands with the greatest vigour. The east side has a reef like Lai'fooga from whence we could see no island except Ta'taffa, and the west side has a bending at the N part where there seems good anchorage. We found 193 an artificial mount like that at Hapae raised as high as some of the 349 surrounding trees with an arbour upon it for catching Pigeons. 223

Three large sailing Canoes with people who seem'd strangers had 643 come to the ship, in one of which was a person nam'd Futta'faihe¹ or Poulaho who said he was chief of Amsterdam & all the islands we had seen or heard of. On mentioning that Feenou had pass'd as such [634] with us, he said that he was indeed a person of power in Amsterdam and often sent on warlike expeditions to the other isles but deny'd his 643 being first in rank. If weight of body could give weight in rank or 142 power Poulaho was certainly the most eminent man in that respect we had seen, for though not very tall he was of a monstrous size with [644] fat which render'd him very unwieldy and almost shapeless. He had [576] straight hair and his features differ'd a good deal from the bulk of the people; but these differences would not have been sufficient to convince us of his superior rank had we not seen some marks of respect paid him to which we were strangers, for on giving him something to eat two of his attendants fed him and the rest turn'd their backs while 643 he was eating. He made the Captain a present of a hog or two and a quantity of red feathers which he had heard we esteem'd, and in [648] return he had a piece of printed linnen and some other things. In the [431] evening he went on shore to Lai'fooga, and to show that his corpulence had not render'd him wholly inactive he took a large paddle with [501] which they scull in the fore part of the boat and handled it dexterously enough, but he soon tir'd of the exercise. The Captain went on [177] shore after him and found that all the people on shore brought in the [439]

¹ Fatafehi.

936]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

344 Fyatoockas have their sides made close in the same manner but are perpendicular, & a few of the best belonging to the principal people are also done in that way with some open spaces at different parts to get in by. The only probable reason I can assign for their negligence in Architecture is their fondness of living much in the open air, in so much that they seem to consider their houses as of little use but to sleep in and retire to in bad weather; and the lower sort of people who spend a great part of their time in attending the others, being almost constantly in their houses, can have no use for them but in the last case.

501 They make amends for the former defect, if it can be truly reckon'd one, by their attention to and great dexterity in Naval Architecture, if I may be allow'd to give it that name. Their Canoes are of two sorts, one of them us'd chiefly to fish in or go to any small distance, the other to Navigate from isle to isle. The first are by far the most numerous¹ and are commonly about five and twenty feet long, near two over at the broadest part, and scarcely so deep. The Bow is exactly like a wedge, from whence it turns gradually broader towards the middle and tapers away till the after part, which droops lower than the fore ends not unlike the tail of a fish. There is a deck runs from forward to near a third of its length aft and another from abaft forward but somewhat shorter. They are built of a tree call'd Toee,² the wood of which is variously colour'd and the pieces or planks are so numerous, I know not whether from necessity or design, that I have counted twenty six in one of a common size on one side. Each plank is fitted with such nicety that they would do credit to an expert European artist, the only joining to be seen on the outside being a line not more open than some in our common Cabinet work; But on the inside there is a small ridge on the edge of each plank, through which & the one next it holes are made by which they are lash'd firmly with cord. The side of the Boat is rounded and every part of the outside neatly polish'd, with little knobs on the two decks where they fasten small white shells as ornaments. They carry from 501 three to five or even six people and are row'd with paddles of about four feet long with an oval, pointed blade which sets them along at a very quick rate. Their narrowness obliges them to use an outrigger or they would be constantly oversetting. This is made by placing a pretty thick spar about three feet from the boats side parallel to it, which is fixt to two others that are laid across the boat from the opposite side,

¹ This was the *tafa'anga*, 'among the most elegant of Pacific outriggers', says James Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania*, I (Honolulu, 1936), p. 259.

² *Toi*, *Alphitonia zizyphoides*.

1777]

CANOES OF TONGA

[937

by small sticks reaching from one to the other plac'd across or obliquely for the greater security, and of such a length that the parallel spar (which is about two thirds of the Boats length) lyes on the surface of the water as she goes along. It is nevertheless, notwithstanding this precaution, a very common accident for their Canoes to turn quite over barely from changing the posture a few inches when sitting in them, and that always to the side where the outrigger is not fix'd. The same happens if the small sticks fastening the parallel to the cross spars are broke, but these accidents are of little consequence, as all ages & sexes are such expert swimmers that they easily repair the injury in the water by turning up the Canoe and baling her out or fastening the sticks when displac'd. In these small embarkations they will venture several miles from the shore in a considerable sea and wind and manage them very dexterously; but notwithstanding the nicety with which they are joind and though the seams are pitch'd with a jetty substance smelling like amber that is said to be the juice of a tree harden'd,¹ they are oblig'd to keep constantly baling out the water, for which they use a scoop made exactly like those of our small fishing boats.

The large or sailing Canoes² are shap'd not much unlike the others; but both ends, which are drawn out to a point instead of a wedge, resemble each other. They are all double (i.e. two joind together) with the height of a pretty broad plank rais'd upon the rounded part, from which rafters are laid across to lash the two together by, that are about four or five feet asunder. Over these is built a large platform or stage reaching from one deck to the other lengthways and projecting considerably beyond the outside of each. These are made of strong planks and are either flat or rise with a bending abaft like the deck of some ships. On this is plac'd a hut like half a cylinder resting on its inside, or of the figure of one of their common huts divided longitudinally, in which they keep their matts, cloth or other necessary things and where the principal people sleep in their Voyages. The mast is plac'd always in one of the Canoes before its middle and inclines to the opposite side and forwards, sometimes fix'd sometimes made to take out. It is well stay'd with strong ropes & has notches by which they go up occasionally, though it is but short in proportion to the vessel. The sail is of a triangular figure with the

¹ A number of trees produced a gum used in caulking: I have not succeeded in finding out which particular one Anderson refers to here.

² Anderson here goes on to describe the *langiaki*, double canoe, which just about this time was giving place to an improved version, the *kalia*, based on the design of the Fijian *adrua*. We know from Webber's drawings that Cook saw both types. Hornell's discussion of these double canoes (op. cit., pp. 265-73) is both learned and interesting.

938]

[1777]
ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[July

501 upper side, which is a little curv'd, fix'd to a yard near three times as long as the mast. This hoists up to the top of the mast, making the sail incline obliquely upwards & backwards, with the lower point in an opposite direction projecting considerably before the mast. The base is the upper part of the sail, & the long side of the triangle the after & lower part: it is made of mat, sometimes a kind of streamer flying from the after angle. In working to windward they shift the sail to the opposite side in tacking, which is done very quickly from the great command two very large paddles which they steer with have over them. In these cases the little time they lose and the fast rate of the Boats sailing makes them gain very quickly, for in a gentle breeze which would set our ship about three knots it has been found they went seven, and before the wind with smooth water & a fresh breeze it may easily be conceiv'd they must go more than double that. They carry from forty to fifty people, and some sixty or seventy.

501 The size of one of the largest as measur'd was twenty five paces, the extreme breadth (of one boat) about three feet, and the depth including the rais'd plank five and a half: the length of the stage was eleven paces and the breadth near six. The sail of a smaller one measur'd seventeen paces on the longest side, the upper or base of the triangle twelve, and the yard to which the other side is fix'd nineteen. They are built of much larger planks than the small ones and seemingly with as few as they can, but notwithstanding their care in joining them they are so liable to leak that they are oblig'd to be frequently bal'd out. There are a few of the single kind that have such a sail as this, with a large heavy outrigger which supplys the place of another boat to ballance it,¹ but their distant Navigations are perform'd in the others. How far that extends is not very certain, but it is probable they have some knowledge of Cocos and Traitors island² which is five degrees to the Northward, or at least have communication with others who frequent that place, from a circumstance they say happen'd not many years ago of a ship larger than ours visiting these places, from whence they had their knowledge of iron renew'd (as they must have had some from Tasman) and was probably the Dolphin, who in her second voyage fell in with them, and were call'd Keppel and Boscauwens Islands by Captⁿ Wallace. However that may be it is certain there are islands within their own knowledge which take them three, four or five days sail to which they are directed by the fix'd stars, many of which they have names for and some bear the names of the islands they direct to, but when it is dark in the night or

¹ This type of canoe was called the *hamatafua*.² Niuatoputapu and Tafahi.

1038]

[1777]
SAMWELL'S JOURNAL

[June

283 Their Cordage is another considerable article which they make of the rind of the Cocoa nut. Some of this they have of a thickness of a [226] 4 or 5 inch rope, which is used in the rigging of their Canoes; fishing & other small Lines they make exceeding neat and strong from the [286] Fibres of a Plant¹ & of these Lines they make excellent fishing Nets.

285 These people excell in making baskets, of which they have 3 or four different Sorts & sizes all made of the rind of the Cocoa nut; one kind is made very strong which is that in most common use, another which is more for Shew are made exceedingly neat & beautiful with white beads & sometimes red feathers worked in them, these we esteemed as some of the greatest Curiosities among them; a third sort are constructed in an odd manner & have a very antique Appearance which made us compare them to Cathedrals²—they have other Sorts still but those above mentioned are the principal. Their other Manufactures consist of their weapons of war which have been 391 already mentioned, their fishing Tackle of various Sorts, much like 412 those of Otaheite, their working Tools which consists of an Adz 301 made of blue Stone, a Shark's Tooth fastened to the end of a Stick for 306 a graving Tool, and Files and their Jewellery, such as Necklaces of 237 various Sorts, some made of small shells of various colours & prettily disposed, others of the Legs of fowls, which however odd they may Sound, these people contrive to make into ornaments for their women's Necks and are no bad ones.

501 Their Canoes are of two Sorts, double & single and of a very curious construction & well finished & must cost them much Labour, they consist of several pieces of plank very ingeniously adapted to each other & sewed together on the inside of the Canoe; the single ones are in general large enough to hold six people, have an outrigger to them & are covered over with a deck at the Head and Stern under [53] which they stow the different articles they carry in them. On these decks they fasten 10 or a dozen white Shells as ornaments & at the stern there is a Support for a fishing rod which they generally carry along with them. The double or sailing Canoes are built large & strong with a Stage, on which a Hut is built. Some of them are capable of carrying 80 or 100 Men & can keep the Sea a long time [285] in these Latitudes. Their Sails are made of strong Matting & have [531] generally the Image of a Cock upon them.

534 Their musical Instruments consist of a Flute, a small instrument called by the Natives Meemecah,³ and Drums. The Flute is made

¹ Tou, *Pipturus argenteus*; or Fau, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

² It is hard to guess what Samwell means by this—perhaps the top edge of some baskets, like an immense saw-tooth.

³ mimika, Pan-pipe.

1366]

[1777]
APPENDIX III

175 account; other disorders which affect their appearance, but not common,
 164 are large broad ulcers which appear in every part of the body, & when
 [765] heal'd leaves behind ugly scars like bits of skin ty'd together. We also saw
 several people with their Arms & legs swell'd the whole length to a pro-
 digious size. Notwithstanding these disorders, they may be considered as
 uncommonly healthy, for I never heard of any one being seen confin'd sick
 in his house, & all their actions shew that they are not debilitated by
 175 diseases, the Consequence of Indolence or unnatural way of living; the
 304 men are punctulated or as they call it Tatow'd, from the loins to half down
 171 the thighs, often Elegantly, but no spiral lines as at New Zealand. The
 women have only a few lines or spots about the hands or fingers. The
 142 General figure of the women is too masculine to pretend to beauty: they
 175 are of a middle height, stout, well limbd, broad faced, with rather harsh
 562 features, their hands are small with delicate fingers; their Eyes are ex-
 pressive & countenances the best natur'd in the World, which need not be
 sourd from the behaviour of the men, who treat them with regard &
 tenderness, admit them to their meals & their Kava societies; although
 175 custom seems mostly to separete them on these Occasions. The behaviour
 562 of men towards Women is doubtless the best criterion to judge how near
 152 Barbarous people approach in manners to civiliz'd Nations: the mildness
 571 & good temper so remarkable amongst these People, with that settled
 565 respect to their superiors, that perfect command of their Passions, their
 157 Peaceable dispositions, & many other Qualities that do honour to the
 human mind, prove abundantly that these people are far remov'd from a
 175 savage state. We may be somewhat surpris'd how they came posses'd of
 181 such Qualities, which require, with all our advantages, no small trouble
 685 for us to obtain; Particularly as these People have few Vices that we could
 perceive, to counterbalance their Virtues. They are certainly much given
 to thieving & one wou'd wish to render this less a crime in them than it
 would be in us; for that reason I shoud migitate [sic] its commonality by
 observing that it is not the same vice with them as it is with us, that it
 arises from an intense curiosity, urging them on to possess articles so
 extraordinary & belonging to a new People; else why do they steal in-
 discriminately whatever comes in their way, very frequently things that
 cannot be of the smallest use to them. The Principal Chiefs were however
 [545] in a great measure free from this crime.

175 Canoe's. There are two sorts of Canoes. The small ones with Outriggers are
 501 from 20 to 30 feet long, 2 broad & $1\frac{1}{2}$ deep, it is sharp like a wedge at both
 ends, & widens from the after end to about $\frac{1}{3}$ of its length when it begins
 gradually to grow narrower to the foremost end; towards both ends it is
 deck'd over, the middle space is left open for the Padlers. The Canoe
 consists of more than 20 pieces, which cannot be from Necessity as the
 pieces are the same in all, but from design; & these are so neatly join'd
 together as to gain the Admiration of our Carpenters; the seams on the
 outside are scarcely Visible, but on the inside is a ridge made from the

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edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd 175
to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd to-501
gether (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd)
by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage
extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth
projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a
hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or
when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above
hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd
away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the
Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,¹
some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side
fix'd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the
Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending
in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost
close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger,
well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the
Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out
& stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long,
the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the
depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a
Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet;
the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side
from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff^r sizes & will carry from 30 to 70
people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout.
The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat 412
building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made 237
of rough fish skin. ...

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these 595
people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are bind- 565
ing, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had
only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether
consider'd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of
doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohow's having elder sons by other
women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had
a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does
not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their
Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are
free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions
with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by
fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by
no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on
their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the
women are to be understood to be purchas'd by our riches, all the married

¹ The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the 175
Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast. 837
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[424 cont.]

000 burnt as it were at the tips. He had three circular spots on each
175 arm, about the size of a crown piece, consisting of several concentric
304 circles of elevated points, which answered to the punctures of the
[171] Tahetians, but were not blacked; besides these, he had other black

[301] punctures on his body. A small cylinder was fixed through two holes
in the lap of his ear, and his left hand wanted the little finger.

175 He continued his silence for a considerable while, but some others,
609 who ventured on board soon after him, were of a more communicative
201 turn, and after having performed the ceremony of touching noses,
124

175 spoke a language which was unintelligible to us at that time. In
the mean while we arrived at the N.W. point of the island, where we
struck soundings on a good bottom, in an open road, and let go our

175 anchors about nine in the morning. We were presently surrounded by
439 a number of canoes, each containing three or four [425] people,

175 who offered great quantities of their cloth for sale. The canoes
501 were small, about fifteen feet long, very sharp built, and decked

[171] or covered at each extremity. Most of them had out-riggers made of
poles, like the small canoes at Taheitee, but the workmanship of
these boats was infinitely preferable, as they were joined together
with an exactness which surprised us, and the whole surface had

[171] received an excellent polish. Their paddles had short broad blades,
something like those of Taheitee, but more neatly wrought, and of

175 better wood. They made a great deal of noise about us, every one
439 shewing what he had to sell, and calling to some one of us, who

175 happened to look towards them. Their language was not unpleasing,
and whatever they said, was in a singing kind of tone. Many were

(609)
[565] bold enough to come on board, without expressing the least
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[459 cont.]

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[43] excellent print, executed by Mr. Sherwin, has been made from his drawing, which expresses the countenance of this chief, and the mild character of the whole nation, better than any description. It is inserted in captain Cook's account of this voyage, and represents Attahha in the action of thanksgiving, laying a nail on his head, which he had

175 received as a present. After breakfast, the captains and my father
565 prepared to return to the shore with him; but just as he was going
152 out of the cabin, he happened to see a Taheitian dog running about the
231 deck; at this sight he could not conceal his joy, but clapped his hands on his breast, and turning to the captain, repeated the word goorree (15)

[97] 15. Ooree signifies a dog at Taheitee; and ghoorree at New Zealand.

[43] [460] near twenty times. We were much surprised to hear that he knew the name of an animal which did not exist in his country, and made him a present of one of each sex, with which he went on shore in an extasy of joy. That the name of dogs should be familiar to a people, who are not
175
231 possessed of them, seems to prove either that this knowledge has been propagated by tradition from their ancestors, who migrated hither from other islands, and from the continent; or that they have had dogs upon their island, of which the race, by some accident, is become extinct; or lastly, that they still have an intercourse with other islands where these animals exist.

126 I remained on board all this day, to arrange the collection of plants and birds which we had made upon our first excursion, and which was far from despicable, considering the small size of the island. The
175
501 natives continued to croud about our vessels in a number of canoes,
[48] whilst many were swimming to and from the shore, who were probably not rich enough to possess a canoe. These embarkations were of different

[460 cont.]

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501

construction. The common small trading-canoes were sharp-bottomed, and ended in a sharp edge at each extremity, which was covered with a board or deck, because their narrow form frequently exposed these parts to an entire submersion, which would have filled them with water without this precaution. They commonly had a slight out-rigger or balancer,

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made of a few poles, to pre- [461] vent their oversetting. The body of the canoe consisted of several planks, of a hard brown wood, sewed together with strings made of the fibrous coco-nut core, and so artfully joined

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that they appeared to be remarkably tight. The Taheitiens simply bore holes in each plank, through which they pass their strings; but by this means their canoes are always leaky. At Tongo-Tabboo they dub the inside of the plank in such a manner as to leave a projecting list or rim close to the edge, and through this they pass their threads. Along the deck or narrow board at each extremity are placed seven or eight knobs, which seem to be an imitation of the little fins, (pinnulae spuriae) on the belly of bonitos, albecores, or mackarels; and I cannot but conjecture that the natives have taken these swift fishes

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for their models in the construction of their boats. Though these canoes are commonly fifteen or eighteen feet long, yet they are as neatly and smoothly polished as our best cabinetwork, which must appear the more surprising when we consider that the tools of the natives are

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only wretched bits of coral, and rasps made of the skins of rays. Their paddles were equally well polished, of the same wood as the canoe, and had short rhomboidal broad blades, like those of Taheitee. The other sort of canoes were constructed for sailing, and persons skilled in nautical matters acknowledge that they were admirably well adapted for

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this purpose. We saw one of them in Maria Bay, consisting of two joined

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175 together, of which the planks were sewed in the same manner as in
501 the common canoe; but they were covered all over, and had a kind
171 of elevated stage or platform, like the Taheitian war-canoes (16).

16. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 221.

[532] Some of them may carry one hundred and fifty men; and their sails,
which are latine, are made of strong mats, in which the rude figure
175 of a tortoise or a cock, &c. is sometimes represented (17). As a

501 17. The figure of a canoe in Schouten's voyage, gives
114 a very good idea of one of the sailing-boats of Tonga-
Tabboo. See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag, 17, 18.

farther detail would be tedious to most readers, and instructive only
to mariners, I omit it in this place, and refer those who wish to
be better acquainted with the subject to the accurate figures with
which Mr. Hodges has ornamented captain Cook's account of this voyage.

175 I shall only observe, that it appears probable from the good
501 construction of the sailing-boats, that the inhabitants of these
171 islands are more experienced mariners than those of Taheitee and the
Society Isles.

175 Among the great numbers of people who surrounded our ships, we
302 observed several whose hair seemed to be burnt at the ends, and were

[237] strewed with a white powder. Upon examination we found that this
powder was nothing else than lime, made of shells or coral, which
had corroded or burnt the hair. The taste of powdering was at its height [463]
in this island. We observed a man who had employed a blue powder,
and many persons of both sexes who wore an orange powder, made of

175 turmeric. St. Jerom, who preached against the vanities of the age,
302 very seriously reprehends a similar custom in the Roman ladies:

171 "Ne irrufet crines, et anticipet sibi ignes Gehennae!" Thus, by an

[473 cont.]

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of coco-nut core and ornamented with shell-work and red feathers,
 or such [474] as were curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of
 fretwork. From these gestures I have great reason to suppose that
 their dances are of a dramatic kind, and public, like those which
 I have spoken of in the Society Isles, (See pag. 398). Schouten
 and Le Maire likewise strongly confirm this supposition by their
 account of the dances at Horne Island (24). It appeared, upon

24. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol.
 II. p. 47.

the whole, that the customs and language of these islanders have
 a great affinity with those of the Taheitiens, and that it would
 not therefore be very singular to find a coincidence even in their
 amusements. The greatest differences between these two tribes,
 who must have originated from the same stock, seem to be owing to
 the different nature of their islands. The Society Isles are well
 furnished with wood, and the tops of their mountains are still
 covered with inexhaustible forests. At the Friendly Isles this
 article is much scarcer, the surface (at least of those which we
 have seen) being almost entirely laid out in plantations. The natural
 consequence is, that the houses are lofty and of immense extent in
 the first group of islands; but much smaller and less convenient in

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the last. In one the canoes are numerous, I may almost say innumerable,
 and many of a vast size, and, in the other, very few in number, and

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much smaller. The mountains of the Society Isles continually attract
 the vapours from the atmosphere, and many rivulets descend [475]
 from the broken rocks into the plain, where they wind their serpentine
 course and glide smoothly to the sea. The inhabitants of those
 islands take advantage of this gift of bountiful nature, and not

[183 cont.]

142 had ever seen in these isles, full of sweetness and the charms of youth.
175 Her large dark eyes sparkled with fire, and her ebon curls floated
[291] on her neck. She was of a lighter colour than the common people
and wore a brown cloth which closely embracing the body immediately
under the breast, but being somewhat wider [184] towards the feet,
perhaps suited her better than the most elegant European dress.

648 Mr. Patton having been sent for, arrived with proper instruments,
175 and dressed the wounds of the poor native, whose countrymen brought
[752] many banana leaves, which were laid on over the dressing. A bottle
of brandy was given them, with directions to wash the wounds with the
liquor from time to time. The wound was not dangerous, as it happened
in a fleshy part; but as the distance was so short, the shot had torn
the flesh very much, and made the wound very painful to the poor man.
After this we distributed some beads, and departed making various signs
499 of friendship. The natives like those of Tonga-Tabboo, were strangers
175 to resentment, and continued to trade with our ship as before. They
seemed to possess a truly mercantile spirit, and spared no trouble
[186] to obtain some of our goods or curiosities. Among the rest, they were
much delighted with a great number of young puppies which we had
taken on board at the Society Islands, on purpose to stock such islands
as were not provided with them. We left two couple on Namoka, of which
502 the natives promised to take particular care. These people managed
481 their canoes with surprising agility, and swam with the greatest ease.
175 Their common trading canoes were neatly made, and polished like those
● 501 which I have already described. But those of the neighbouring islands
175 were of a great size, and some [185] of them contained upwards of fifty
people. They always consisted of two large canoes, fastened by a

[185 cont.]

- 501 tranverse platform of planks, in the midst of which they had erected
175 a hut, where they placed their goods, their arms, and utensils, and
where they passed great part of their time. There were likewise holes,
which gave admittance into the body of each canoe. Their masts were
stout poles which could be struck at pleasure, and their sails were
very large and triangular, but not very proper to sail by the wind.
[283] All their cordage was excellent, and they had also contrived a very
good ground tackle, consisting of a strong rope with large stones at
the end, by means of which they came to an anchor.

122 We went on shore again after dinner, as captain Cook proposed
126 leaving this island the next day. We passed through several fields
and wild shrubberies, and collected a number of valuable plants.

- [439] We also made a purchase of several arms, such as clubs, and spears,
and of some utensils, viz. small stools, large wooden dishes and bowls,
in which the people prepare their victuals, and some earthen pots
713 which seemed to have been long in use. The great abundance of their
175 arms, does not agree with their good-nature and hospitable disposition,
[181] unless they quarrel with their next neighbours, like the people of
[531] Tahitee and the Society Islands. But they seemed to have spent too
much time [186] in ornamenting their clubs, to have frequent occasion
to use them.

122 At day break the next morning [June 29] we unmoored and set sail,
standing towards the island of Tofooa, on which we had again observed
439 the volcano burning during night. A whole fleet of canoes followed us
175 several miles, trading with a variety of articles, particularly their
dresses, utensils, and ornaments. Some of them likewise brought fish
of different sorts, which we had found very well tasted.

4 Bernice P. Bishop Museum—Occasional Papers IX, 9

342 *kaho* sticks are placed in position around the sides of the house and bound with *kafa*, to form a siding which is called *lu kaho*.

The door (*mataba*) of a Tongan house is made from coconut leaves plaited and tied together, and is arranged to pull up and down [352] (*bola*). The floor is made by leveling the earth on which the house stands and covering it first with dry coconut leaves, then with very [285] young coconut leaves plaited into mats. These mats are dried in the sun a few days before being used.

342 There are three types of Tongan houses: the dwelling house (*fale*
343 *nofoaga*): the store house in which all food is kept (*fale felcoko*), and the kitchen or cooking house (*fale beito*).

BUILDING THE CANOE

396 The Tongans make their canoes from any one of several trees: the *buko rili*, the *tuvahi*, the *toi*, the *bibi*, the *gatac*, the *folulona*, and the *vi*. A large tree of one of these species is cut down, shaped, and the center scooped out. The outrigger (*hama*) is then made from the wood of the *ton* tree, and the outrigger sticks from the wood of the *bibi* tree (*bibi fai lolo*). The joins are made from the *tutu uli*, and the *hama* bound with *kafa* which is made from coconut husk fiber. Finally, the paddles are made, a large coconut shell provided as a bailer, and the canoe is ready for the sea.

501 The ordinary canoe is termed *babao* and the seagoing canoe *kalua*.

NATIVE METHODS OF FISHING

226 Diving (*ukuuku*). The diver, equipped with a one-pronged spear, dives down beside the coral reefs and hunts for fish that may be hidden in the caves of the reef. Sometimes the native divers secure rock cod, sharks, and other fish nearly as large as themselves.

Fish traps (*ba ika*). These are built by placing sticks in a circle, fence-fashion, leaving a gate or door into the circle. To a long creeper (*valai*), used as a rope, are attached split coconut leaves to act as wings or guides. The fish get inside these guides and follow them into the trap. The fence is erected in the tide and inspected when the tide is low.

Turtle nets (*kupega fonu*). These are made from coconut string (*kafa*), and are placed in the center of passages in the reef to trap the fish.

/190 cont./

227 however,--usually of fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) wood--is still made
198 exactly as it was in olden times. In the uloa community fishing
824 expedition they use the heavy net plaited of coconut fibers, as they
always have, since the available hemp material seems to be too weak
for this purpose. However, the long rope required for this procedure
is scarcely plaited any longer of the fau bast; they buy an imported
European rope. The fish spears today have iron points with barbs;
they buy the prongs ready-made from a shopkeeper or have them made by
a blacksmith in one of the chief towns. The points are inserted in
the spear shaft and fastened with a wrapping of European fishline.

[177] The ancient Tongan fishlines plaited of coconut fibers (466)
[283] 466. See, for example, J. Cook, Beschreibung...
loc. cit. VI. p. 286.

[237] have long since disappeared. Today the natives use the European
lines available in quantities from shopkeepers, just as they use
exclusively the steel fishhooks introduced by whites and have
apparently forgotten the traditional, beautiful hooks of tortoise
shell and mother-of-pearl. (467)

467. Ibid.

226 Benzol pressure lamps have largely replaced the torches formerly cus-
416 tomary in night fishing. The traps (finaki) on many islands are
197 already made more often of wire netting than of the roots of coconut
227 palms, and there is scarcely a Tongan who goes to the trouble of making
177 the weirs (pa) of bamboo and plaited coconut palm leaves, but general-
[824] ly uses wire netting for this purpose as well. Finally, some of the
boats used in fishing are still the traditional outriggers (popao,
rarely tafa'anga) (468)

468. See p. 349 ff.

but some are also rowboats and European-type sailboats which have re-

/180 cont./

501 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (kalia). (469)

178 469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats
179 belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing
with the towline (fakatele).

226 /181/ The sandals (teka) plaited from the bast of the fau tree
292 (Hibiscus tiliaceus) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by
178 the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.
824

415 Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets
226 ('oa) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)
824

179 470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers
to in his account (J. Martin, loc. cit. I.
p. 309.)

however, they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently
according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their
heads.

286 According to Mariner (471)

463 471. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

(178) net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all
appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few

natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in

(824) old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (hika) which

(237) is carved from the wood of the tao tree (Casuarina equisetifolia L.)

or of the milo tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the

meshes (mata kupenga) cut out of tortoise shell or fau wood (Hibiscus

tiliaceus). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the

necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the

(465) experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a

small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent

227 on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of

(463) money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each

(426) other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through

(178) the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

/230 cont./

484 of all kinds (even for carrying pigs). In 1951 there was a total of
494 80 private cars in the Archipelago (600)
493

600. Ibid. p.23.

almost all of which drove on Tongatapu; some were owned by whites living there. Moreover, in the same year, 16 motorcycles (601)

601. Ibid. p. 23.

were registered in the Archipelago.

491 The old Tongan roads were, of course, not equal to traffic by such vehicles. From the sources we can scarcely tell whether the former "roads" were in any way paved or were simply surfaced with hard-pounded clay. While the small islands are today still criss-crossed by the traditional unpaved and, in the rainy season, very soggy roads and paths, some of which go back to the distant past, others to the beginning of the settlements, the islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u have a few good highways, fully adequate for truck traffic year round, surfaced with coral stone or even asphalt; these were built by Tongans under the supervision of Whites. In 1951 there were about 60 miles of such roads on Tongatapu and 18 miles on Vava'u. (602)

602. Colonial Office, Report 1950/51, p. 23.

484 As for sea traffic, the most important change in comparison with
501 the past is the complete stop of long trips to other archipelagos

501 with catamarans. It has been a very long time since those so
199 "carefully and skillfully built" (603)
484

603. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 287.

catamarans (604)

604. In the second half of the 18th century, the Tongans gave up their catamaran-type known as "tungiakia" in favor of the Fijian "ndrua"-catamaran, which they felt was superior, and which they copied masterfully and called

/230 cont./

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"kalia" (see Th. Williams, Fiji and the Fijians /cited in English/. Third ed... London 1870. p. 64; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 121). A description of "kalia," for example in Th. West, Ten Years.../cited in English./ pp. 49/50.

which in construction and speed once aroused the admiration of the great European seafarers, and with which the natives set out for distant destinations, such as Samoa, Fiji, Niue, Futuna, Uvea, Totuma and even some of the Ellice and Gilbert Islands. (605)

605. See E. W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. pp. 14/15, 205.

505 The Tongans who wish to travel to Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand or Australia for visits or for educational purposes use the New Zealand steamer which makes an approximately monthly round trip: Auckland--/231/ Suva--Nuku'alofa--Neiafu--Apia--Suva--Auckland. (606)

606. With occasional stops at Niue. The old hopes that Tonga would become a point of intersection of trans-Pacific routes were not fulfilled because of the development of the Fiji colony. Thus the Archipelago still lies at the edge of world traffic. Except for the "monthly steamer" from New Zealand, freighters only occasionally stop at Nuku'alofa or Vava'u to deliver goods or take on copra. An airfield built a few years ago on Tongatapu provided passenger service only from January 1, 1950 to July 2, 1951; then the New Zealand company discontinued this line's service which was apparently unprofitable. However, there are plans for a resumption and expansion of air connections (with Fiji, New Zealand and West Samoa).

[508]

For journeys from Tongatapu and Vava'u the natives like to use the [507] monthly steamer. For the rest, traffic within the Archipelago is served by the auxiliary ketch "Hifofua" of the government, the auxiliary ketch "Aoniu" of the Copra Board, (607)

/231 cont./

505

607. Both are sailboats with auxiliary motors and a displacement of approximately 80 to 100 tons.

(501) the motor boats and sailboats (with auxiliary motors) of the churches and especially all the sailboats (cutters, sloops) owned by Tongans and today stationed on almost all inhabited islands of the Archipelago. (608)

608. In 1952, for example, six such sailboats belonged to the village of Nomuka (567 inhabitants, ten to the village of 'Uiha (647 inhabitants) and two (along with two motor boats) to the village of Fungamisi (263 inhabitants). The price of such a sailboat depends on its size and the circumstances of its acquisition. Today it may cost up to 800 ~~Y~~ T. (about 7320 German marks).

(435)

(396) These sailboats built entirely after European models are built by Whites
(177) or half-castes, sometimes also by Tongans themselves with imported
(422) material. They are the property of one person or of several who
(471) formed a sort of cooperative. For a fixed fare, paid in Tongan currency, the generally altogether overloaded vessels transport human beings and cargo; people travel on them to visit relatives or go shopping, students travel on them to their colleges at the beginning and end of vacation, copra is shipped on these sailboats to the receiving stations of the Copra Board, and the supply of goods from the commercial centers of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai to the small and smallest islands is made possible only by this traffic; natives also set out to fish in the high seas (deep sea angling) in cutters and sloops.

(501) In such boats, which are approximately between 4 and 15 tons, the natives often sail a hundred and more sea miles on the open sea, and there are seldom accidents even during stormy night journeys. The Tongans (609)

/232 cont./

505 passengers go to sleep crowded together on or below (610)

484
(554)

610. Here dignitaries (chiefs, pastors) and older Tongans usually rest.

the small deck while the crew take turns at the wheel. They watch

505

the compass with the help of a lantern or flashlight, observe the

502

wind and the current and possibly certain bright stars. When reefs

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are passed one man will often stand in the bow and correct the

course; within range of one of the few navigation lights of the

Archipelago a native may also climb the small mast to determine the

course from there. In the morning, at sunrise, a devotional service

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is held. The passengers, two of whom have become seasick (!) then

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get ready for the landing. The women, in particular, comb and oil

(302)
(515)

their hair, delouse each other and tie up their hairdos. Around

eight o'clock the boat docks at Ma'ofanga (near Nuku'alofa); the

passengers disembark and the crew follows after the freight has been unloaded and packed onto a truck.

On December 4th, around 18 o'clock, the "Leiola" then sailed back to Nomuka and Mango with the same crew, four passengers and a load of six barrels of cement and a few cases of soap.

505

While the sailboats described are used for "long-distance traffic" within the Archipelago, (611)

501

611. The two auxiliary ketches as well as a few sailboats equipped with auxiliary motors belonging to the Tongan churches sometimes travel even to Fiji.

the simple little outrigger, the popao, is the typical conveyance of

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short-distance traffic. This dugout with outrigger equipment is the

178

only watercraft of ancient Tongan style which is still made in rather

large numbers. The complicated and slightly larger outrigger of the

/233/ tafa'anga type, the boat body of which is made of planks that

are lashed with coconut fiber cords and sealed with resin, (612)

/233 cont./

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178

612. Today also with cotton or cement.

and of which only a very few exist in the Archipelago, will probably soon share the fate of kalai which disappeared seven decades ago.

501

A tafa'anga boat observed on Nomula Iki in December 1951 was built there that same year by a Tongan (from Niua Toputapu) and was used for short trips between Nomuka and Nomuka Iki. The keel was made of wood

(824)

of the ifi tree (Inocarpus fagiferus [Park.] Fosb), the planks and the float were made of fau wood (Hibiscus tiliaceus), the outrigger poles could not be definitely determined, and the connecting timbers (four) between the three outrigger poles and the float were made

(284)

of toa wood (Casuarina equisetifolia L.) . There were holes bored in the planks which were held together with coconut-fiber lashings. Old tapa served as caulking. Two seat boards were nailed on fore and aft. The body of the boat had a coat of crimson oil paint to protect it against sea water. Two paddles propelled the boat.

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Aside from the European additions (nails in the seat boards and oil paint) this boat in its rather crude form seemed unchanged from its ancient Tongan model, which had polish-like smoothness and was ornamented, (613)

(113)

613. See G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 347;
Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise...
/Diary of a voyage of discovery/ translated
by J. R. Forster, Berlin 1781. p. 93.

and used for bonito fishing, no longer practiced today. (614)

614. See Th. West, Ten years...p.146.

501

The popao, namely the simple (and unadorned) dugout outrigger boats, are the universal craft used for short-distance trips. They usually take on one or two persons and are propelled with wooden paddles (having an oval or pointed-oval blade) or with improvised, trimmed coconut-palm-leaf stems. Sometimes the natives also use a.

/233 cont./

501 small sail (made of European cloth, seldom a mat) for which they put
501 up a small mast. They use the popao to cover the distance between
505 islands lying close together. (615)

615. They seldom use the popao for greater distances,
as did a Nomukan, for instance, who, in 1951,
traveled 14 sea miles with it across the open sea.

for various methods of fishing (see above) and, on account of their
slight draft, to board and leave the small sailboats lying at anchor,
as well as to load and unload the latter.

396 The natives like to make the hull of the popao from the trunk of
824 the breadfruit tree (Artocarpus altilis), but they also use the mango
(Mangifera indica L.), the tavahi (Rhus taitensis Guillemin), the
toi (Alphitonia zizyphoides [Spreng.] A Gray), the mohe-mohe and, if
possible, the tamanu. Men who have particular experience in boat-
building, but also those who are doing this work for the first time
in their lives, cut the hull of the boat, which is about three to five
meters long, out of /234/ one piece of trunk. They also like to

(438) "export" roughly hewn hulls from islands were the aforementioned types
(435) of wood occur in greater abundance to islands that are poor in them;
on Nomuka, for instance, they pay 10 T. (breadfruit tree wood) to
15 T. (tamanu wood) for such an unfinished boat imported from 'Eua.

396 The owner of the boat-to-be may do the work himself, or a man
(465) experienced in boat-building who is provisioned or remunerated (who
may receive, for example, 2 T. or a horse) does the work. Often the
(476) men work in twos or threes, with relatives (for example, son, father,
son-in-law, father-in-law, cousin), friends or other villagers helping.
(462) Boat-building is purely men's work.

396 To hollow out the dugout, which has been roughly hewn with axes
412 and transverse hatchets, they use especially the small transverse
hatchet toki unga ko (with the gouge blade, see p. 200-202). They also

/234 cont./

396 are pounded slantwise (with a chunk of wood or the back of a hatchet) so that they are joined over the two sections in such a way that the outrigger poles can be fastened to them with coconut cords.

[412] The protruding ends of the struts and the outrigger poles are then cut off with a machete or are sawed off with a handsaw. (621)

620. The measurements of a popao completed at the end of December 1951 on Nomuka were:
hull: length 4.50 meters, height (center) 0.35 meters inner width 0.25 meters; outrigger poles: 1.83 meters long; connecting rod of the outrigger poles: 2.05 meters long; float: 3.22 meters long; struts: 0.38-0.47 meters long.

After a short trial run (with old paddles) the boat is anchored under water for a night, to make it firmer and tighter; then it is ready to be used.

Instead of struts they often merely pound small plugs into the float and fasten to them flexible pieces of wood obliquely to the float, on the /235/ upward-bent ends of which the outrigger poles are lashed. This method is used more in the northern than the southern part of the Archipelago.

[178] The present-day popao apparently still correspond to their ancient Tongan models in the use of materials and the construction.

In order to make them more seaworthy, however, the natives sometimes also nail laths and boards to the walls and elevate the bow and stern with corresponding wooden attachments; the resulting seams are sealed with scraps of cotton or with imported cement. A leak is stopped up with tapa or cotton and a piece of tin or copper nailed over it, or only cement is used. Twine and wire sometimes replace the solid coconut-cord lashings. Some owners of such outrigger boats also paint them with oil paint (for example, blue) in order to make them more resistant to sea water.

/235 cont./

412 Though the popao seems unchanged in principle from that of the
178 past, the tools used in building it are quite different from those
177 used in ancient Tonga. The axes with black stone blades, the drills
(237) with shark's teeth and fish-skin scrapers (621)

621. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 287.

have long since disappeared, and new equipment is used instead, which represents, in part, a combination of European material and Tongan form, (622)

622. See transverse hatchets, p. 200-202.

in part, purely imported materials of whites.

501 To propel a popao one or two paddles are required. Special
[415] bailers (box at the bottom of the boat) with a handle inside are very
(178) seldom made any more. The natives usually use rather large coconut shells or empty cans to bail out.

501 The supply of boats of the popao type is by no means uniform on
184 the individual islands. Investigations made by the author in 1951/52
422 for instance, showed that in 'Uiha (Ha'apai) only three out of 100 households had popao, whereas the 85 households of Nomuka (Ha'apai) had about 40, and the 45 households of Fugamisi (Vava'u) had 17 boats of this type. There are apparently no particular reasons for this unequal distribution, for the living conditions of the natives of 'Uiha and Nomuka are very similar. The people of the remote village of 'Uiha--in which, according to statements of older Tongans, only a few decades ago almost every household owned a popao--seem to have simply lost the inclination to build these boats, whereas the inhabitants of Fugamisi (the "suburb" of the urbanized harbor settlement of Neiafu) still show a greater interest in this boat, though there is no compelling necessity for it. One may assume, in general, that the supply of these simple outriggers--considerable though it

/235 cont./

501 seems to be on many islands--has very much decreased and will continue
178 to do so. The reason for this, however, is not that superior
[177] European types of boats are replacing the popao, (623)

623. The cutters and sloops have replaced the old catamarans, and the few rowboats (dingi) of European construction in the Archipelago, made with expensive imported material, present no serious competition for the popao which are so easily built

but that the /236/ Tongans today seem to turn less to the sea than they did formerly. (624)

624. For instance, only relatively few Tongans are able to handle a popao really skilfully in a somewhat turbulent sea.

501 The "countless numbers of small boats or canoes" (625)

625. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise.../Diary of a journey of exploration/ translated by J.R. Forster. p. 93 (he means the tafa-anga).

which welcomed Cook, for instance, could today no longer be assembled, even if one included cutters, sloops, popao and rowboats of several islands lying close together. For example, of the 108 households in the village of 'Uiha in April/May 1952, 86 had no watercraft; of the [422] 45 households of the village of Fungamisi during the same period, 24 were without such a craft, and the natives of the four villages of the island of Lifuka had a total of scarcely 20 boats of various kinds.

489 Much has therefore changed in the area of transportation. Though
177 the majority of Tongans go about on foot on the islands, the influence
178 of modern methods of transportation (horse, cart, bicycle or motor vehicle) is in part considerable. Modern vehicles will undoubtedly increase in importance on the larger islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u in the coming years, while on the smaller islands, with shorter

489 /236 cont./
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distances and poor, unpaved roads, the optimum seems to have been reached at this time.

505 With regard to sea traffic, it is noteworthy that the seafaring
178 Tongans doubtless still possess the nautical sense of their renowned
177 ancestors, but in comparison with the past, in general, a certain
estrangement from the sea can be seen. Since they depend on the
monthly steamer for transportation outside Tonga (and in part also
within Tonga), and since, for transportation between the islands of
the Archipelago, they use sailboats whose building material
(626)

626. The wood for building these boats must also be imported, since the natives' lumber does not seem resistant enough.

501 must be imported, they have become dependent on Europeans in their
505 traffic on the high seas. Of the ancient Tongan type of boats--with
178 the exception of the now very rare tafa'anga--the simplest type of out-
rigger, the popao, has alone been preserved and is used on short
trips for various purposes, rather frequently.

489 There is no noticeable difference between nobles and commoners
565 with respect to means of transportation. Not origin, but economic
184 potential is decisive for the acquisition of land- and seacraft.
(627)

627. In addition, there is borrowing without direct return service (see p. 136-137).

501 In accordance with the social structure of ancient Tonga, the
422 catamarans of those days were solely in possession of the nobility.
565 Today the /237/ sailboats that have replaced the catamarans belong
178 largely to commoners, and money plays a part in the traffic of these
cutters and sloops which transport almost all passengers and goods
for money.

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18. Tongan sloop



19. Outrigger boat (popao)

[End Plate 10]

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tacked to meet her. It was about 15 feet in length, without any carving or ornament, and having a single outrigger. There were four natives in it, all naked with the exception of a little tappa, or native cloth, wrapped round the waist, and reaching down to the knee. They came out against a heavy swell, often dashing right through the crests of the waves, which at times broke completely over them. They were talking to each other with great rapidity and animation as they approached, and, as we looked at them, not at all expecting to hear anything we should understand, one of them hailed us in perfectly good English, "Square the main yard!" As this had been already done some short time before to allow the canoe to come up with us, this speech was no doubt intended to show us how well he could speak English. A rope being thrown over, one of them scrambled up the side, the canoe pushing off again with the rest. The native who came on board was a fine man about six feet in height, with really handsome features, and a fine open expression that was quite prepossessing. He was tattooed upon the breast and across the back of one hand, and had lost one of his fingers. When he came on deck he announced himself as a pilot, asked whether we were English or French, and then pointed out the passage through the reefs to the anchorage, watching the ship, and saying "very good," as she came up to her course, and then, going forward, took up his station on the bowsprit. The entrance to the anchorage is between a mass of coral reefs and islets on the northern side of the island, and is very narrow, but our native pilot showed the greatest coolness and judgment in conducting us through it. Within the entrance the anchorage spreads out into a bay with deep water right up to the reef which skirts the shore.

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Owing to the want of high ground there is nothing very striking in the appearance of the island, which from the sea forms a continuous line of palms rising over a beach of coral, the highest part being the small mount opposite the anchorage at Nu-ku-alófa, on which stands the native church and a small stone, marking the grave of Captain Croker, of H.M.S. "Favourite," who was killed at Béa, in the island, in 1840. Upon the beach were some very large sheds, and many pretty huts enclosed by neatly made fences.

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When we had anchored, a whole fleet of small canoes, bringing crowds of natives, came off to the ship. In the afternoon a party was made up to go on shore. At the landing-place we were met by a large troop, principally children and young women, with two or three young men, one of whom carried a bayonet fixed upon the end of a pole. The women were dressed in short jackets of coloured cotton, with sleeves reaching down to the elbows, and petticoats of tappa fastened round the waist. As we were going away to look for the houses of the missionaries, a native came

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A [i.e., a Tongan canoe--Analyst.]

104 Mr. BRIERLY's *Sketch of the Friendly Islands, with*

123 cerned; and thinking that by a rather decided answer I had got
609 rid of him, I again went on with my sketch.

[439] The natives had begun to assemble on the hill in considerable numbers, coming in troops from all quarters and gathering round the spot where the band was to play. The young women and boys who had been crowding round me to see the sketch, now ran off and joined the rest, all except my canoe friend, who still kept hovering about, watching at a short distance until he should again catch my eye. There was now a fine chance, so he came up quite close, and looking me for a short time full in the face, with a most absurd, half-dejected, half-laughing expression, said, in an abstracted manner, and as if addressing no one in particular, [435] "O, it is a beautiful canoe, mine." These continued interruptions became at last rather annoying, and as canoes could be obtained alongside for an old coat, I endeavoured to explain to my friend that his ideas were far too extravagant. He listened with an air of deferential attention until I had quite done, then said quietly, "You have not seen my canoe;" and warming with his subject, added energetically, "O it is beautiful!" After this, however distant he might be from the spot, he was sure to come and find me out whenever I landed, and haunt me with his "beautiful canoe." Often, when sketching in some retired part, where I hoped that for once I was safe from his persecution, I was sure to see my friend sitting somewhere among the trees, apparently quite unconscious of my presence, until he could quietly glide up and get near me without being perceived; and when close enough to be heard, he would make some observation in praise of his canoe.

[435] Sinbad was never more tormented with the old man on his shoulders than I was with this provoking native and his eternal canoe. At last I was fairly beaten by his passive system, and finding his canoe really a good one, I gave him—not the five dollars exactly—but a whole wardrobe of old clothes, which pleased him quite as well.

123 In this digression about the canoe I had almost forgotten the band, which arrived in due time, the people all sitting down on the ground in the most orderly manner, and forming a great circle round it, the best places being given to the women. The music-stands having been set up, and all the preparations completed, a duet [201] from Norma, the Old Hundredth, Drum Polka, Irish Quadrilles, and British Grenadiers, followed each other in rapid succession, the principal chiefs expressing their approval at each pause between the pieces by calling out *Mālo māleeah!*—Well done! sweet! adding, "go on again."

● 501 June 21st.—At daylight this morning, two large double canoes, decked over, and having houses upon them, were seen lying at

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anchor close to the edge of the reef in-shore of us. They were crowded with natives busily engaged in unloading them, a number of smaller canoes being employed in conveying their cargoes, which consisted of bundles of matting, large baskets of yams and other provisions, gear of various kinds, cooking utensils, &c., across the shallow water on the reef to the landing-place at the beach. Upon inquiring the cause of all this bustle from the natives alongside the ship, they told us that these were the canoes of King George, who had arrived from Haabai during the night; which being confirmed by information obtained from the shore, the Meander at eight o'clock fired a Royal salute, and soon after nine Captain Keppel went on shore to pay a visit to his Majesty.

When we landed we heard that the King was engaged in receiving his chiefs at a great kava party, but understanding that our visit would not be considered an intrusion, we walked down to the place of assembly, accompanied by one of the missionaries, who obligingly offered to act as interpreter and to present us.

The place of meeting was a kind of shed, having the ends and back temporarily closed in with matting. Here we found the King seated cross-legged upon the ground, with five of his principal chiefs on each hand, the rest of the chiefs sitting outside the house and forming a great semicircle upon the lawn before it, the bulk of the people being collected in a crowd beyond. All round were great heaps of provisions—roasted pigs, yams, cooked fish, and bundles of the kava root.*

The King is a fine man about forty-five years of age, upwards of 6 feet in height, and powerfully made. His hair was cropped quite close, and he had neither whiskers nor beard. Features well formed, and forehead rather high than wide. His dress consisted of a tappa petticoat, fastened round the waist and reaching down to the feet. Above this he wore a large piece of fine matting, folded many times, so as to make a great bundle round the body, coming as high as the chest, the arms and shoulders being left bare. He wore no ornament of any kind, and held in his hand a green branch, which appeared to be merely for the purpose of keeping the flies off. The large mat is said to be a mark of distinction, and with the petticoat of tappa forms the court dress of Tonga, as no European clothing is allowed to be worn on these occasions.

When we arrived at the house the business was about to commence. We entered the apartment at the side, and took our places upon mats behind the king, who did not appear to notice us until the missionary had spoken to him, when he turned half round,

* Kava is an infusion of the root of a species of pepper (*Piper myristicum*), and upon every great occasion kava-drinking forms an important part of the ceremony.

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islets round the anchorage. Closer at hand, some of the largest and fastest sailers, their decks thronged with people, were crowding upon one another like yachts in a regatta, their large angular sails at times nearly touching the Meander's jib-boom end, as they came sweeping across her bows, ploughing the sea up with their sharp stems, and leaving broad tracks of shining white foam behind. They were ornamented with long swallow-tailed streamers of different colours, the foot or lower part of some of the largest sails being fringed with an edging of small flags placed close together. Many had rows of large white cowries fastened on to their bows, and carried black crescent-shaped ornaments at their mast-heads. One canoe had a large black ball painted on the centre of its sail. They came tearing along right up to the edge of the reef, and, when it seemed as though another instant must take them up high and dry on to the coral, would shoot up in the wind's eye and shorten sail; prolonged shouts from the people in the canoes already anchored greeting every fresh arrival. A fleet of smaller canoes surrounded the Meander as she lay broadside on to the shore. Below the hill on the left, shaded by a sombre looking group of casuarinas, was the tomb of Josiah, the last King of Tonga, and near the spot where we stood, two small trees of the same kind, planted by his sons, marked the site of his palace.*

Having seen the last canoe arrive, we walked down the hill to go on board. At the beach all was stir and bustle, small canoes bringing the people on shore from the larger ones, which lay anchored in the deep water at the edge of the reef. Some of the canoes were loaded with enormously fat old women, and were being pushed across the reef by men wading alongside, who helped the old ladies out at the landing-place and set them on their legs with great care, when they waddled up the beach like so many turtle. Wishing to engage one of these canoes to take us off to the ship, we made the men understand that if they would come with us we would pay them for their trouble when they got on board; upon which they ran up after the old ladies to ask their permission, which, however, was most unceremoniously refused. One of the most re-

* *Casuarina equisetifolia*. Pickering, in his 'Races of Men,' mentions this tree as having been introduced into Polynesia; and remarks that it has probably been brought from the westward. My attention was particularly arrested by the use of it at Tongatabu as the emblem of mourning, from having noticed that the natives of Twofold Bay, on the S.-eastern coast of Australia, select spots shaded by it for the interment of their dead. In the only instance where this was not done, I remarked that branches of it were brought from some distance and laid upon the newly-made grave. At Tahiti the grave of King Pomare (father of the present Queen) stands in a grove of them. It grows generally by the sea-shore, where the wind, passing through its fine hair-like leaves, produces a mournful sighing sound, which, with its sombre tint, adapts it peculiarly to the same purposes as the cypress and trees used in other countries for planting near tombs.

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own people, and finds sufficient employment in attending to his duties as King without meddling in trade. He is one of the best sailors among the Tongaese, and has frequently shown remarkable coolness and presence of mind in situations of danger. When we were at Tongatabu he was about to build a jetty over the reef at the anchorage. He does not smoke, and his example is generally followed by his people, smoking being considered as a mark of dissipation. At one time, however, it prevailed to a great extent, nearly every man and woman, and even many children, smoking whenever they could get tobacco. The use of it is discouraged by the missionaries, but I imagine that some of the natives still secretly indulge in it, for while I was sketching one day a young woman came up to me, and, first looking cautiously around, inquired in a confidential whisper if I had any tobacco, at the same time showing me a short black pipe.

Canoes.—The model exhibited will serve to show the construction of these better than any description. They are steered with a large paddle on the lee quarter, and it will be seen that the lower part or foot of the sail is secured to a spar in the same manner as the sails of the "America" yacht. King George's canoe is 90 feet long, the sail being 90 feet high and 60 feet wide at the top. These large double canoes will carry as many as 200 men.

In 1847 King George, fearing that the French might interfere with him, wrote a letter to the governor of New Zealand, requesting that he might with his people be received as subjects of the British crown.

I would venture to remark that it must be of advantage to cultivate friendly relations with the inhabitants of all such islands as are desirous of being connected with us, more especially as it may be very desirable to form depôts for our steamers at some of the islands. It has been exceedingly difficult for me to draw a line between the geographical and the ethnological in this paper, as they are so intimately connected; but I trust by this simple narration, illustrated by the pencil, that many, who would have no taste for a voyage of 12,000 or 15,000 miles, will in some measure realize the condition of our antipodean fellow men; and it is to be hoped that in a comparatively few years the connexion existing between our Australian colonies and the mother country may also include these beautiful and fertile islands.

Sailing Directions for entering Tongatabu.

HAVING no map of Tongatabu, or any knowledge of the place, we were in doubt as to which was the proper entrance to the anchorage, and the following sailing directions were afterwards kindly given me by Mr. May, master of the *Meander*, as the result of his observation upon going in.

When the northern point of Eua bears S., steer direct for the small island of Eua Eki, on nearing which several small islets will be observed immediately to the

November 1962

437

Whaling in Tonga

by R. T. SANDERS

I HAD OFTEN been a spectator, alternately fascinated and repelled, while a whale was cut up on the seafront at Nuku'alofa at low tide. The great dark bulk of the whale broken by vivid red gashes where the cutters had exposed the flesh, the ivory gleam of a vast rib, the gory figures hacking away in the midst of the shambles, and the green lagoon waters incarnadined around the carcase—all this was, perhaps providentially, just beyond the range of accurate vision, out at the reef's edge beside the whale boats which still flew their black and white flags at the masthead, signalling success. Close in at the foreshore were the punts which served as ferries and market stalls for the rich red squares of whale meat. These were always surrounded by eager Tongan purchasers of all ages, up to their knees in the water, chattering excitedly and good-naturedly jostling for position. 225
[123]

But, of course, it was the prelude to all this that I really wanted to see, that prelude on the high seas which was in fact the main act to which the cutting and selling were but the aftermath. And as we slipped our moorings one grey, silvery morning I realised my desire. I was not travelling in the whaling boat. - Knowing the superstitions of whaling men, and also the hazards a stranger could cause both for himself and for the crew of the boat in its small confines, I had neither sought nor expected such an invitation. Enough to be about to see the whalers in action from close quarters aboard a fisheries launch. 443
[501]

There were two boats, identical and adequately described as typical whaling boats, but typical of the great days of whaling in the last century. 'Double-enders', (pointed fore and aft) both were rigged with a gaff-sail and a jibsail and handled magnificently in the wind. But their rôles were to be widely different. One was the 'killer boat', its name sufficient indication of its function, the other was the 'stand-by boat' and during the chase its sole duty is to be ready to pick up the crew of the other boat if it comes to grief. It takes no part in the killing. 501
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The tale of these whaling men would form a saga in itself. They were mostly members of one family, originally from England, who had emigrated to the Americas and sailed out of Nantucket in the days when Herman Melville was writing *Moby Dick*. From there they had come to the south seas and settled in Tonga. A mingling of races seemed rather to have increased their hardihood, and the swarthy figures crouched in the boats had a calm confidence born of inherited skill blended with Polynesian pride of race and natural seamanship. 225
563

For the long haul to the whaling ground our launch towed the whale boats and the leading whalers sailed with us, our taller mast giving them a greater range of vision. Then a long period of waiting as we quartered the sea in search for the feathery waterspouts which are usually the first sign of 225